

The Comrade.



RARE BOOK

A Weekly Review.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—William Morris.

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A Prayer.

O breath of Heaven--immortal Love,
Uplift on Rapture's wings
The Soul that seeks to soar above
The pomp and power of Kings!

It claims by right of heavenly birth
A heritage divine,
And sees from far, while chained on Earth,
The heavenly glories shine.

Long, long in this World-prison pent,
It sinks, that fain would rise
Into a vaster Firmament
Of grander earths and skies,

And ranging God's creation, free
From passion and from strife,
Would gather Love's infinity
Into the core of Life.

Each sigh that speeds the passing hour
Eternal love doth claim;
Each spark within it shares the power
Which feeds the Sun with flame.

Give it the starry path to find
By Saint and Hero trod,
And in the love of all Mankind
The way that leads to God.

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The Condition of Success.

When I was in Yerrowda Jail, I had the rare privilege of meeting the heart of Islam through the Urdu literature which came into my hands by accident. I had taken with me a Hindustani Manual, gift of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Having finished this, I was impatient for more. I had sent for such Urdu Readers as Mr. Sana-ul-Qureshi might think I should read. But in my impatience I inquired whether there were in the Prison Library any vernacular books. To my agreeable surprise I found that there were Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, Kanarese and Gujarati books, a few, it is true, nevertheless sufficient for the time being for my purpose. I saw in the list supplied to me several copies of Urdu religious Readers for Mussalman prisoners. I asked for the Urdu Readers and I found them to be a series published by the Lahore Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. I rejoiced, and I said to myself, I should now not only add to my knowledge of Urdu, but I should also know what was given to Mussalman children by these Readers. In the second Reader which contains very useful and instructive lessons I found one devoted to the incidents in the life of the Prophet. It gives short stories illustrating the Prophet's humility, generosity, equal treatment for friend and foe, his forbearance, his presence of mind, and fear of God, in fact all the characteristics that make a man good and godly. For instance, take the Prophet's mode of treatment of a Jewish creditor who had gone to revile and abuse him. The great Umar could not brook the insult that he thought was offered to his master. The Prophet rebuked the disciple, and told him that as penance he should pay not only to the creditor the principal sum but something extra for the offence that was given to him. The exquisite consideration shown to the money-lender brought a reward for which at least at that time the great Umar was unprepared. For, so the story goes, the Jew became a convert to Islam. The same lesson tells the story of another unbeliever who, finding the Prophet alone and unarmed, resting under the shade of a tree, unsheathed his sword and asked him, "Tell me, O, Mohamed, who can save thee?" "Allah", was the prompt and fearless reply. The man began to quake with fear. The sword dropped out of his hand. The Prophet took it up, and lifting it asked him, "Say thou now who can save thee?" The unbeliever tremblingly said, "None save thou." The Prophet could not take his life, but granted him a generous pardon. The unbeliever from that moment became a believer.

These are not solitary instances of nobility of conduct towards enemies and opponents. Maulana Shibli's bulky volumes are replete with such incidents. They show the way of "tabligh" or "Shuddhi" if you like. Exemplary conduct is the only true, and in my humble opinion, permissible propaganda. It is faultless, flawless, infallible, unexceptionable.

But I am not writing these lines to show how propaganda should be carried on. My purpose is to draw a lesson from the life of the Prophet for us all. If we are to establish heart unity, we have to copy the Prophet in forbearance and toleration in their extreme form. If a Hindu reader of these lines is not convinced by the incidents drawn from the life of the Prophet, let him search the pages of Mahabharata and Ramayana, and he will find instances in abundance of generous, tolerant, conduct.

We do not need elaborate resolutions setting forth what we should do, and what we should not do. We do not need to make an appeal to the Utilitarian in us. If we would only live up to the fundamentals of our respective faiths, we shall find that during the past two years many of us have been denying our religion and denying God. We have been doing violence to ourselves by seeking to compel one another by violence to yield one to the other. Both the communities have sought to insist on rights rather than do their duties, and leave the rights to flow from the due performance of their duties.

India is like a bird whose wings are Hindu and Mussalmans, but the wings have become paralysed, and therefore disabled the bird from soaring high in the air and breathing the bracing pure air of freedom. Surely to leave us thus paralysed is not the essence of Hinduism, nor of Islam. Is it religion for Hindus to weaken the Mussalmans, and vice versa, for the one to refuse to help the other? Should religion be a destructive force, destroying freedom and all that is best and noblest in man?

THE COMRADE and THE HAMDARD have been resuscitated to tell Hindus and Mussalmans that the only condition on which unity and freedom are possible is mutual toleration amongst all who call themselves Indians, be they Hindu, Mussalmans, Christians Parsis, Jews or what not.

In reviving his papers, THE COMRADE and THE HAMDARD, Maulana Mohamed Ali is certainly taking upon his shoulders a great responsibility. But he is a God-fearing man. His trust is in God. And God makes clear what to us may be impenetrable darkness. I, therefore, add my prayer to his own that his mission may be blessed with success, that he may always have the right word for all, friend and foe, that he and his assistants may write nothing in anger or haste, and that every word in THE COMRADE and THE HAMDARD may be a power for the good of our country, and through it of humanity, and that his papers may be promoters of peace and good-will between the people in this land professing different faiths.

I have lost no occasion for advertising the friendship of the heart that exists between the Ali Brothers and myself. They claim to be, as they are, *pukka* Mussulmans. I claim to be a *pukka* Hindu. That fact has proved no bar to real affection and perfect trust between us. And if it is possible for such friendship to exist between some Mussalmans and some Hindus, we may deduce by a simple rule of arithmetic that it must be equally possible for millions of Hindus and millions of Mussulmans, if only they will it. This friendship THE COMRADE and THE HAMDARD will, I am confident, seek to promote in every way, and chiefly by presenting what is best and noblest in Islam. May God grant them speedy success and grant it in full measure!

M. K. GANDHI.

TETE TETE



TEN years ago almost to a day THE COMRADE closed the doors of its Printing Press in Kucha-i-Chelan and thereafter ceased to appear. THE COMRADE joins to-day, the day of her second birth, the ranks of the "Twice-Born". The motive for the revival is the same that had moved us to bring THE COMRADE into life nearly fourteen years ago. We are told that in the period of seven years every part of human anatomy undergoes a complete change. But things have changed so rapidly and so radically in India in recent times that hardly anything remains the same that it was before the interval of twice seven years separating the first birth of THE COMRADE from the second. We propose from time to time to remind our readers of the past, and in future every fresh issue of the paper will contain some extracts from an issue of fourteen years ago. In fact, we had hoped to be able to reprint in this, the first issue of the New Series, the article entitled "We" with which we had opened on January 14, 1911, the first issue of the Old Series. But it has been crowded out on account of unexpected pressure on our space and our readers will have to wait a little longer for that page from the past. That would show perhaps as well as anything else the sea-change that our views and our general outlook have undergone in the interval.

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WE may, however, anticipate a little and illustrate from our opening article of fourteen years ago, how experience has in one direction made us wiser as well as sadder. Referring to the relations of the rulers and the ruled, we had stated it to be our belief that "the line of demarcation between the two was growing fainter and fainter every day, and we had expressed the hope that "to call some people the rulers and others the ruled would soon appear as absurd and meaningless in British India as it does in Great Britain, or nearer home, in our own Native States". In support of this we had pointed out that two Indians were "the trusted advisers" of the Secretary of State for India, and that "in India itself the Supreme Government had an Indian member". And then we had asked in child-like simplicity: "Whom then are we to label the rulers and whom the ruled?" We had looked forward at the time to the realization of the dream of the Persian mystic who had sung:

I became Thou, Thou becamest I, I became Life and Thou bearest Body.
That none might henceforth say, I am different, Thou art different.

But, alas for the vanity of human wishes! The line that had then appeared to be faint and had promised to grow fainter and fainter with the passage of time, is apparently as hard and fast as ever, and the identification of purpose and interests to which we had looked forward has not been achieved by such "Indianization" as has taken place. What India wants is not the substitution of a Brown Bureaucracy for the White variety, but, in the time-honoured phrase of Constitutional Law, a government of the people, by the people and

for the people. There are as many as three Indian Members in the Government of India where there was only one fourteen years ago. But the Government of India has not become any more an Indian Government for all that. The outburst of repression in Bengal, to which we have had to refer in detail elsewhere, much as we had wished to avoid strong, or, in fact, any kind of criticism of the Government, at least in our first issue, is evidence that the "talk of Me and Thee" is still anything but meaningless.

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OUR readers were perhaps prepared for the change to which we have just alluded. But in another respect there has been a change yet not a change. That is with regard to our yearning for the unity of India. It is customary that in the first issue of every new journal the editor explains the policy of the paper and tries to justify the venture. Following that time-honoured custom, we had at the very outset of our career referred our readers to the name of the journal itself for its policy. We were comrades of all, and partisans of none. We yearned for Indian unity as much then as we do now, even though we are, we believe, better able to understand to-day what the Mahatma in the article which he has so affectionately contributed to our first issue, and in which he gives us his blessings, calls "the condition of success". We had closed our opening article with apostrophising Unity and addressing it in the words of the poet:

"Thou wilt come, O men, knit nation unto nation
But not for us who watch to-day and burn
Thou wilt come, but after vast long years of trial,
Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial."

The passionate desire for the establishment of a Federation of Faiths in India, grander, noble, and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, had driven us in 1911 to launch the frail bark of THE COMRADE on the tempestuous seas of journalism in the days of the late lamentable Press Act, and we had intended it to translate our old dream of "The United Faiths of India" into reality. But we had also realized the difficulties of our task and its perils, and we do not ignore them even to-day. Nevertheless, we no longer entertain the fear that we did in those really far-off days that unity would come "but not for us who watch to-day and burn". Three years ago we were privileged to catch more than a fleeting glimpse of the unity of which we had dreamed, and although none can be more careful than ourselves in distinguishing resolutions from results, it is our firm conviction that the disunion of to-day is unnatural, and therefore destined to disappear as a bad dream, and that it is the most natural thing in the world that the people of India should live together in peace, and work with concord and that it is therefore the most certain thing to happen. All that we have to do is to create and cultivate in ourselves the will to unite, and to avoid the fatal mistake of being satisfied with "gumming together pieces of broken glass," as we wrote in 1911, "and then crying over the unsuccessful result or blaming the refractory material." It is not statesmanship to slur over inconvenient realities, and if we have little faith in such "statesmanship", "we have less faith still in the sanctimoniousness that transmutes in its subtle alchemy a rapacious monopoly into fervent patriotism."

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WE think we have said enough about our previous birth, and perhaps we may now say a word or two about our temporary death. For sometime after the appearance of the new star on the journalistic firmament the omens were good, and we received many encomia from the official world. But we did not mistake party tactics for genuine praise, and were therefore not unduly elated or deceived. Before long it was found that however eager we might be to meet our foes, we were most unwilling to fight the battles of others. And from that time we began to lose grace. Before we migrated in September, 1912, from Calcutta to Delhi, we had learnt more than enough about the official displeasure that we had unintentionally provoked; and the hesitation of the local magistrate, in spite of strong recommendations from some friends that we still had in higher quarters, in dispensing with the deposit of a security from the keeper of our Press

under the Press Act, gave us ample warning. But this could not, of course, deflect us from our purpose, and we prepared ourselves for any fate. Before a year had passed, it was thought necessary to take our education in hand, and we were taught the first lesson when in July, 1913, the Pamphlet entitled "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us," in which the atrocities of the Balkan Allies on Muslim men, women and children during the Balkan War had been described in an Anglo Turkish appeal to Christian England, and of which we had received copies, were declared forfeited under the Press Act, together with all copies of the various issues of the THE COMRADE and THE HAMDARD in which it had been reproduced. In the interests of the liberty of the Press, which was essential for securing the liberty of the people, we challenged this action of the Executive by a reference to the High Court of Calcutta, and we think we may safely say it was the masterly and penetrating judgement of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, C. J. in this the leading case under the Press Act that ultimately killed that tyrannical measure. This apparently made it necessary for the Government to teach us the second lesson, which was taught immediately after we had made our application before the Calcutta High Court. The District Magistrate of Delhi cancelled his previous order exempting us from depositing security for good behaviour on the ground of our previous "respectability," and now ordered the keeper of our Press to deposit Rs. 2,000, the maximum amount of security that could be demanded under the Act. The last lesson was taught us ten years ago almost to a day when the security deposited in August, 1913, was declared forfeited, and, fresh one of Rs. 10,000,—once more the maximum amount that could be demanded after the "first offence"—was ordered to be furnished. THE COMRADE had always been run at great loss, and this new financial burden would in any case have proved the last straw on the camel's back. But it was war-time and the order of forfeiture significantly enough synchronised with Turkey's participation in the war. It was felt that frank and honest journalism, never much relished by the officials, would not be tolerated in such times, and we decided to put up the shutters and await the return of peace if not of security for the Indian Press. The subsequent fate of THE HAMDARD, which had continued to be published for some months longer, which had deserved, it still less proved that this decision was eminently wise.



WHAT happened to the editor and proprietor is another story and does not concern us here. But we may perhaps quote the last words before THE COMRADE suffered, as we may now say, its eclipse. We had written in a previous issue that—

After four years of vigorous living we should not regret the task of writing our own obituary—for one can live intensively as well as extensively. We have lived in four years as much as some do in forty. We have played our part at least to our own satisfaction and we shall how ourselves away cheerfully enough when the curtain falls down.

We reproduced this in our last issue, and then added—

When we wrote this we meant every word, but we did not know at that time that the poor player would not be allowed even to shut his hour upon the stage—for he was heard no more. But a hand not yet laid down pulled down the curtain even before the play was over and the general public has enjoyed the farewell speech before plunging him down to his doom and end. Another of those only tragedies of life—due not to be as so but. What men are who read this? Phrynos says all. But you play the game and breathe the new life into us—we are the way of this—past their appointment. But let us be no witnesses of failure. . . . 'Tis not in vain that our last breath was given in the cause of truth, justice and righteousness. We leave our career with the words of hope and courage that have appeared for close upon four years on our title page.

Stand forth, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share
Be loud, proclaim it everywhere
They only live who dare!

Whatever truth we had we declared freely and shared it with all. Every-where that we could we have proclaimed it, and even if truth has not always been proclaimed from the house-tops, untruth has not been even whispered. No, we shall not die in the real sense of life and death. We have lived because we have dared, and we shall still dare and we shall still live.



TO-DAY we repeat both our first words and our last, as we see no reason to modify them in the declaration of our War Without an Enemy. But we should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the debt we owe to the Great Soul whose advent into Indian politics has wrought a perfect revolution, even if it has not always been perceptible. The spirit of Indian politics has greatly changed since "The Coming of the Mahatma," and we who have been privileged to work a little with him could not have been left unaffected. Like our general, we are soldiers engaged in a war unto death. But to-day we realize better than we ever did before that ours must be a war without an enemy. This assurance we are not ashamed to offer even to the Government that had penalised us in the past, and may penalise us once again. We love Love, and hate Hate; but we do not hate even the hater, although we have to carry on our peaceful struggle against him. The same assurance we offer to all communities and to all political parties in India. We echo the prayer of a very old and esteemed contributor of ours which we print on the opening page of the New Series, and which breathes the spirit of "penance and prayer" in which the Mahatma's great Fast was undertaken. We ask Allah, the most Beneficent and the most Merciful, to make us "free from passion and from strife," so that we, too, could "gather Love's infinity into the core of Life," and, to give us also to find "in the love of all Mankind the way that leads to God."



THE COMRADE re-appears after the eclipse of ten years; but some of the dear ones that assisted us at its birth and helped us throughout its first career are, alas, no longer with us. Even if we had forgotten them, the tremendous difficulties of our task in resuscitating THE COMRADE, which can only be faintly suggested to the reader by the inordinate delay in bringing out this issue, were certain to have revived old memories. Many a tear has been dropped over the memories of GHULAM HUSAIN of THE COMRADE and of THE NEW ERA and over "BAMBOOQUE" of Gup fame, and of others whose ready assistance had made the editing of THE COMRADE a pleasure and itself a reward for all that we had to endure. But to-day it is not they whose thread of life was cut short so suddenly and so rudely that should excite one's sympathy.

After life's fitful fever they sleep well.

It is those who have survived them and who unaided have to bear their burden as well as their own that deserve commiseration.



IN the course of his address to the jury, one of the accused in the Karachi Trial had quoted two Oxford definitions *apropos* of Great Britain inducing the Greeks to fight her battles in Asia Minor. War waged on the 'Rugger' Model. An Oxford "undergrad." who was obviously new to English games had written to his people, and said that the two favourite games of his 'Varsity companions were called "Soccer" and "Rugger." "Soccer," he had said "was a game in which you kick the man if you cannot kick the ball," and "Rugger," on the other hand, "was a game in which you kick the ball if you cannot kick the man!" Great Britain, as the accused said, preferred to wage war on the "Rugger" model. She was too "peaceful," if not like the late President Wilson, in the early stages of the war, too proud, to fight, and only waged war against an enemy when she could not induce some friend or neighbour to fight her battles. We are reminded of this kind of "sportsmanship" by the recent trouble that was not so many days ago threatening to lead to war between Great Britain and Turkey over the vilayet of Mosul and the boundary between Turkey and Iraq. From the clamour in the British Press it had seemed as if the Angora Government had in a Chauvinistic spirit sought a quarrel with England, by making encroachments on the mandated area in Iraq, and sending regular troops across the boundary

recognised by Turkey and Britain alike at Lausanne. We were not inclined to believe this, for the good reason that we knew it was not only the oil in Mosul that the British coveted, but that they also desired to set up a buffer state between Iraq, which they ruled under the guise of the mandate, and the territory still ruled over by the Turks. But now the whole thing is clear as daylight. In the English Mail received this week we find *two* different provincial newspapers of England, the *Nottingham Guardian* of Nottingham and the *Sussex Daily News* of Brighton, publishing in their issue of the same date a few paragraphs identical in every respect, down to the cross headings, and doubtless supplied by an agency drawing its inspiration from some place not a thousand miles from Downing Street, in which an attempt is made to explain away Lord Parmoor's recent misrepresentations at Geneva in a jocular manner. It is, at best, a poor attempt at a jest and, divested of all forced humour, it amounts to this that Britain, even with that pacifist, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, as Foreign Secretary as well as Premier has been using some Assyrian Christians to fight her battles with renovated Turkey. This even after the peace of Lausanne in which the discomfiture of another such dupe, namely, Greece, had resulted, certainly shows that British Labour loves war waged on the "Rugger" model just as much as British Capital.

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Here is that precious sample of Downing Street journalism which gives the clue to the reality behind Lord "No Man's Land"! Parmoor's protest. We need offer no apology for such a generous use of scissors and paste, for a perusal of this long "cutting" would be amply repaid by the flood of light it throws on the much-vaunted post-war diplomacy. The two newspapers we have named state that ---

The inner history of the incidents on the Northern frontier of Iraq, which are now engaging the attention of diplomats in London, Constantinople, and Geneva, has elements of humour not altogether foreign to business involving the Turk. After the war, it may be recalled, we had on our hands some interesting people known as Assyrian Christians, who had fled before the Turk. We planted them in the country north of Mosul, and, as they seemed well able to manage their own affairs, we did not include their territory in the Iraq administrative area. So, under the benevolent eye of the British Empire, these people settled down in a sort of No Man's Land between our mandated territory and the nearest Turkish Caucasian province.

Sometime later we heard that a Turkish Mudir was living among them a kind of minor Governor. He seems to have been a harmless person, who occasionally collected taxes from the Assyrian Christians, but never by any chance sent the proceeds to Aleppo. As the Assyrians acquiesced in his presence it was not for us to protest, and he does seem to have given the people tranquillity in return for his perquisites. Then during last summer the Turkish Government heard of this little Kiden, and determined to send a Vali, who is an important provincial Governor, to secure the revenue, to which they had no more right than the collector. When we heard of this, we warned Constantinople not to interfere, and as our Note was not answered, we assumed the hint had been taken.

The Mudir, however, knew that the Turks were in earnest and he set his wife to work. He had no *locus standi*, as the lawyers say, with the British power in Iraq, so could not ask them for help from that quarter against his visiting superior. He was, however, on good terms with his Assyrian Christians. So he took them into his confidence. He told them that this official was coming to seize the money they had provided for his comfort, and he let them know where and when this person would arrive. That was sufficient. The next development was the arrival in Mosul of an enthusiastic band of Assyrian Christians with a captive in the shape of a Turkish Vali, who they handed over with rejoicings to the British authorities. Here was a problem for our administrators!

They were at a loss to know what to do with the high Turkish official, but eventually they returned him to the Turkish Government like a piece of lost property, accompanied by a suggestion that he and his like should not wander in the No Man's Land on the Mosul frontier. The worst of the Turk is that he cannot see when the joke has gone against him. He lost his temper not with us, but with the Assyrian Christians and he dispatched an armed force which sent these people rushing to shelter within British territory and made the further blunder of crossing the Tigris river after them. So what had been, up till then, a harmless and amusing incident, ended in swooping aeroplanes and spitting machine-guns, a disastrous retreat by the remnants of the Turks, and a diplomatic potter at Geneva and elsewhere. It will be a long time, however, before another Vali attempts to dispose of a hard-working Mudir of revenue derived from the Assyrian Christians.

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IN the light thrown on the matter by this "smart" piece of diplomatic journalism it is easy to see how "those interesting people," the Assyrian Christians have been used as the cat's-paw of the fable; how they have been made to take possession of Turkish territory, of course, "under the benevolent eye of the British Empire;" how a small Turkish

official has been corrupted, how some Christian subjects of Turkey not yet turned out of her territories, like the Greeks, have been induced to play the traitor and capture their Turkish Governor and make a present of him to the Empire with "the benevolent eye," how that Empire has restored this piece of Turkey's "lost property" on the understanding, of course, that one good turn deserves another, so that Turkey should part with a portion of her territory to the underlings and minions of the benevolent-eyed Empire in exchange for her restored Governor, how her Assyrian subjects have been punished by the Turkish Government for their stupid treachery, as they no doubt deserved, how the League of Christian Nations has had its sympathies enrolled in favour of the tools of Britain, on the ground of their being Christians, how British aeroplanes have swooped down and British machine-guns have spat fire upon avenging Turkish troops, and how, finally, the equally benevolent-eyed League of Christian and Allied Nations has been appealed to in the name of the sacredness of treaties and the inviolability of British-made boundaries. Was it not Lord Loreburn, a British jurist like Lord Parmoor himself, who said that the Labour Party was the "Party with Ideals?" Well, this is what has happened in the *regime* of the "Party with Ideals." Oh for a change to government by a party *without* them! The late President Wilson in his folly fought for the Allies to make the world safe for democracy. We don't know about democracy; but we certainly think it has been made safe enough for hypocrisy.

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Anecdote.

The Duke of Grafton, familiarly known as the "Father" of English Dukes, was once corrected as a Magistrate by a poacher who appeared before him. The man had been caught with a hundred rabbits in his possession, and in his severest tones the Duke said, "You are fined five guineas, and sixteen shillings costs." "You'll pardon me," said the culprit, "but I'm not. You can't make me pay more than five pounds. You see, I know what I'm talking about. I've been up before!" And he paid the five pounds with the air of a man who had scored a point, for he was proved to be in the right.

A funny incident is related of Maeterlinck, the dramatist. He was at a banquet, and in the middle of a conversation there was a clattering fall, and a clumsy waiter upset a plate of clear soup down the dramatist's back. Directly the consternation was over, he turned round, and, in a slightly reproachful voice, remarked to the offender, "It was thick soup I asked for!"

Sir Reginald Pole-Carew certainly deserved his popularity in the Army. An amusing incident happened to him during the Boer War. One day a despatch-rider galloped into the British camp with a fine fat turkey tied to his saddle. Meeting a simple looking horseman, he said, "Halloa, mate! Where shall I find Polly-Carew?" "That's his camp over there," was the reply, "but if I were you I wouldn't take that turkey with me. It might get you into trouble." "All right," said the trooper; "you take it till I return, and we'll go shares." Before the stranger could protest, the bird was in his keeping and the despatch-rider had ridden off. Later on the trooper discovered that the simple-looking horseman was none other than Sir Reginald Pole-Carew himself. The General only laughed at what he considered a good joke and hinted to the abashed "Tommy" that he would find his turkey safely hidden not far away.

Lord Fingall tells a funny story of a certain theatrical company, which had been doing bad business in the provinces. While the proprietor and sole responsible manager was standing outside the theatre, a small boy with a large melon arrived, and proposed to barter the fruit for a seat in the gallery. The bargain was duly concluded. At the end of the performance the manager accosted the boy. "Boy," he said severely, "that melon was rotten." "That's all right," returned the youthful critic, "so was yer show!"

The Comrade.

Rule of Unlaw.

An English contemporary of Calcutta in announcing the repressive measures taken by the Government of Bengal early on the morning of the 25th instant, under the old Regulation III of 1818 and an Ordinance made for the occasion by the Viceroy, tells us that "Government replied in dramatic fashion to the campaign of violence in Bengal." Official terrorism of this sort has been stage-managed so often before that it does not even terrorise to-day. In fact, the cool manner in which Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose made his exit, and the simplicity and candour with which he appealed to the public to help the charitable institutions and needy students towards whom his liberality, now rendered impossible, perhaps constitutes the only excuse that a bankrupt bureaucracy can offer for his arrest and confinement, are the best answer to such theatricalities.

But it is not of much importance whether the fashion of the official reply is "dramatic" or merely theatrical. What really matters is to what action of the people of Bengal is this official move a reply. Since we hold political assassinations and similar acts of violence, apart from all ethical considerations, to be wholly futile and wasteful, and since we differ so radically in our methods and in our outlook from people who believe in and rely on them, we may be told that we ought not to be greatly concerned with the particular methods Government proposes to adopt in dealing with them. This argument is not at all sound, for even a criminal is entitled to justice, and therefore to the use of such methods alone by his accusers as would ensure that justice is done to him. But in this case the net has obviously been cast over a wide surface, and, as we shall presently show, the big haul that has been made is certain, even if it is not intended to include the innocent and the non-violent as well. Consequently even if we neglect our duty to see that justice is done to the believers in violence also, we cannot but be concerned on behalf of the others. The Government of Bengal knows only too well what type of "true well-wisher of his country" may lend it his support in such measures of repression, and the Viceroy knows equally well the variety of Indians to whom he refers as people "who have truly at heart the peace, the prosperity, and the political future of India," and to whose "support and co-operation" he considers himself and his Government to be entitled. From all such may go up—though we greatly doubt it—a chorus of loyal response and a recognition that this *coup de theatre* of the Government was a reply in dramatic fashion to the campaign of violence in Bengal. The rest of India, however, is far more likely to think that the reply was the Government's answer to the unlamented death of dyarchy in Bengal at the hands of Dr. Bhabhu Das and his party.

Last March, when the Swarajists had thrown out the Budget, a rumour widely gained credence in Calcutta that Mr. Das had been arrested, and his absence from home for several hours after the Council meeting, which his relations and friends were at the time unable to account for, had seemed to confirm the worst apprehensions. A similar rumour, although it has afterwards been clumsily contradicted, and the anxious enquiries telegraphed to Simla, where he had been recruiting his shattered health, indicate clearly enough that Lord Lytton's high-handed action is believed by the generality of the people, whose support he and his Simla superiors pretend to expect, to be unmistakably of the nature of a vendetta.

But the irony of fate is forcibly illustrated when the political party which has been maligned as the enemy of constitutionalism has inflicted in the most constitutional manner defeat upon defeat upon those who pride themselves on being the party of "law and order," and the only form that their vengeance has been able to take is the negation of the Rule of Law, and in its place the substitution of the Rule of Unlaw. It was strange enough that in the twentieth century any civilised government should insist on retaining on the Statute Book an anachronistic set of rules like those of Regulation III of 1818, which, enacted by no legislature, subject the liberty of the citizen to the whims of a body of autocrats as expressed in *lettres de cachet*. But when that government proceeds to declare that this is not enough, and would enact, more than a hundred years later, and once more without the consent of a legislature, another set of rules establishing courts which dispense alike with the jury and with assessors, and which take cognisance of offences without the accused being committed to them for trial, rules entitling Government to dispense even with such courts whenever it fancies some one "has committed, is committing, or is about to commit" certain offences, or "has acted, is acting or is about to act" in a certain manner, and then to have him arrested without a warrant, and to proceed merely on its *ipse dixit* to intern him, or extern him, or commit him to custody in a jail, or order him to conduct himself in any manner it likes, or to abstain from any acts it dislikes, then we

say it is a wicked misuse of words to call such a government as "by law established." All this is a negation of law as the civilized world understands that expression, and the government that indulges in such practices may at best only call itself "established by Ordinance."

Inter arma silent leges; and the protracted War which did not officially end until some two years after hostilities had actually ceased with the conclusion of the armistice in November, 1918, was hailed by the custodians of "law and order" in India as a veritable God-send. The Defence of India Act,—which could have been more appropriately styled as Offence against India Act,—allowed old scores to be paid off without the intervention even of a pliant enough judiciary. But it was war-time, and everything was presumed to be fair in war. When, however, the Indian D. O. R. A. was enacted in the shape of the Rowlatt Acts as a peace-time measure, even the docile Indian could not stand it, and the effort culminated in the bath of blood at Jallianwalla Bagh and in the humiliation worse than death of the Crawling Lane. The only amends made to India for all this was, as some Liberal newspapers in England then triumphantly called it, the "gesture of Mr. Montagu," and for this too Parliament all but disowned him even in 1920. The Duke of Connaught visited India in the following year to open the "Reformed" Councils, and appealed to all to forget and to forgive. He who sees the condition of the Punjab to-day, with its daily rations of Hindu-Muslim recriminations served by its newspapers, and greedily devoured in the streets of its cities and towns, is bound to declare that that martyred province has forgotten the recent past, even if it has not actively forgiven it as well. Why then need Government revive those painful memories which had for the moment at least made the Hindu and the Muslim communities of the Punjab forget the lively occupation of fighting one another? Does Government really intend to make such a considerable contribution to the efforts of the Unity Conference?

Lord Lytton claims for the new measure that "it will not give Government any extraordinary powers to deal with sedition," and that "it is aimed solely at the secret criminal conspiracy which has terrorism as its object or method." Lord Reading, who seems but to paraphrase the statement of the satrap of Bengal, asserts that "the Ordinance . . . will in no way touch or affect the interests or liberties of any citizens, whether engaged in private or public affairs, so long as they do not connect themselves with violent criminal methods," and he goes on to declare that "the fundamental duty of Government is to preserve public security, on which political advance and all the functions of a civilized social organism depend." The worst of it is that His Excellency has sat too long on the bench, and stood too little in the dock, and consequently he looks at things only from the point of view of the judge who pronounces the sentence, and not at all from the point of view of the accused against whom it is to be pronounced, and on whom it is to be executed. Many of us can claim to possess far more extensive experience of the prisoner's dock than he possesses even of the judicial bench. And it is this extensive experience that entitles us to say that all his assurances and those of his Bengal lieutenant are in vain. So long as Government is enabled to acquire the strength of the giant, and so long as it is responsible to no one but itself for the manner in which it uses that strength, so long must the people against whom it may be used apprehend that Government will use it as tyrannously as the giant. Who is to judge whether Lord Lytton is using his extraordinary powers to deal with sedition, or even with outspoken but strictly lawful criticism of himself and his colleagues, and not with "secret criminal conspiracy which has terrorism as its object or method?" Of what use, for instance, is to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who was only three years ago as much one of the "Rulers of India Series" known as the Indian Civil Service as his persecutors are to-day,—of what good, we ask, is to him the assurance of the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England that the Ordinance will in no way touch or affect his interests and liberties as a citizen engaged in private affairs, such as the management of the Swarajist organ, *Forward*, or public affairs, such as the executive control of the civic business of Calcutta?

As it happens, he has been "civilly killed" by Regulation III of 1818 which, we are told by Lord Lytton, "can be used to deal with irreconcilable leaders." But had he been laid by the heels as one of the "rank and file of the conspiracy," for whom that ancient and time-honoured Regulation is generously declared to be "unnecessarily harsh," he would have been "dealt with by the milder method of internment." Having had fairly extensive experience both of the "milder method of internment" and of the "unnecessarily harsh" one of confinement as a State Prisoner, the present writer would like to ask how Lord Reading, who rightly regards it as the "fundamental duty of Government," is going to "preserve public security."

Of course, we are told that within one month from the date of issue of an order by the Local Government under sub-section (1) of section 12, the self-same Local Government shall appoint two of its employees of the rank and experience of Sessions Judges or Additional Sessions Judges of a certain standing, and it shall place before them "the material facts and circumstances in its possession on which

the order has been based, or which are relevant to the enquiry, together with any materials relating to the case which may have subsequently come into its possession, and a statement of the allegations against this person in respect of whom the order has been made, and his answers to them, if furnished by him." What, then, it may be asked, is to happen when all this has been done? Only this, that "the said judges shall consider the said material facts and circumstances and the allegations and answers, and shall report to the Local Government whether or not in their opinion there is lawful and sufficient cause for the order." What is to happen when the employees of the self-same Government that has punished citizens of Bengal without trial have reported to its own good self, the Ordinance does not say. But it promptly proceeds, presumably, "to preserve public security on which political advance and all the functions of a civilized organism depend," by enacting that "no suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under the Ordinance."

We may, however, declare on the authority of sufficient experience that the "consideration" of all the rubbish that may be placed before these employees of the Local Government, that depend for the success of their careers on the pleasure and good-will of that Government, cannot obviously be expected to satisfy the person concerned any more than if the Local Government had itself considered it. We must apologise to our readers for the egotism of much that we are now about to say. But we feel we shall not be doing our duty if we who have had to go through ample experience of these things hesitate to share it with our readers and permit them to be misled by the provisions in this Ordinance of checks that are no checks and by assurances that are unreliable and illusory. It may perhaps be remembered that the papers relating to the internment of the Ali Brothers were placed, not before two Sessions Judges or Additional Sessions Judges, as provided in this Ordinance, but before two Judges of the High Court, one actual and the other at least prospective, and yet it was of no avail. Whatever material may or may not have been placed before their judges, they, at any rate, were furnished with nothing beyond a brief statement of the vaguest and pettiest of allegations, lacking all particulars of time, place and person that could have helped them to furnish their answers to them. The Secret Police, as the prosecutor behind an impenetrable veil, was a veritable ghost of Hamlet's father. It is always able in such cases to strike down from behind and in the dark all whom it desires to destroy; but those who would defend themselves against such attacks are unable to strike back so elusive an assailant. As Marcellus found it, there is nothing substantial to strike at.

"For it is, as the air, invulnerable,

"And our vain blows malicious mockery."

The Ali Brothers had the same enlightening experience. And yet this was not for lack of a very definite and a very serious allegation, to wit, that they had written to the late Amir of Afghanistan inviting him to attack India, which letter His Majesty was stated to have sent to the Viceroy with a special Envoy of his own.

It was this letter and another that were believed to have come in the way of the brothers' release more than a year earlier, and having asked Government to show them these letters the moment they came to hear of them, they at least expected that the letters would be placed before their judges. Although conversations during their internment with some officials who had invited the brothers to pay them merely social calls, of course, grossly misrepresented and unsupported by any evidence, figured among these precious documents, not a trace was to be found of these incriminating letters, and the judges, who denied all knowledge of them, expressed their inability to call upon the Government to produce them. It may be added that more than a year later, when wholly false allegations of a similar nature were made against the brothers by Members of Parliament in the course of questions asked in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu was pressed on their behalf to state whether these letters did or did not exist, and whether they were believed to be genuine or had by that time come to be recognised as fabrications and forgeries. But in spite of a definite promise that he would make a public statement after inquiry from the Government of India, he did nothing of the kind, and left more than one reminder on the subject unanswered. So much then for the "consideration of material facts and circumstances."

As for the upshot of this farce of an inquiry, the judges, of course, justified the action of Government. Nevertheless they recommended the release of the brothers, as the Government itself informed them, in a report which was never published; but while Government applied the justification by the judges as a soothing unction to its soul, it rejected their recommendation, and rebuked them for all their pains on the ground of their inexperience of High Politics! These are not blown surmises, but actual facts, and it is in the light of these and not of glib assurances from Lords Reading and Lytton, that the ordinance will be judged by India.

In any case, it can be no satisfaction to a person deprived of his liberty that his case is to be subsequently considered by two men of judicial experience, unless the inquiry also is in its nature judicial. Judicial experience is an experience exclusively of inquiries conducted according to prescribed judicial procedure, which provides proper checks on hasty and one-sided judgement. In an inquiry in which it has been deliberately arranged that such procedure is not to be followed, and in which none or few of the known methods of testing evidence are to be adopted, judicial experience is hardly a relevant consideration. The security that it suggests is wholly illusory, and there is every indication that so it is intended to be.

As an instance in point we may refer to the evidence adduced in the Karachi Trial in support of the charge of conspiracy to seduce Muslim troops from their allegiance. It consisted entirely of circular letters printed in an untraceable press and published by a non-existent society. But since some of these letters had been posted from a place where one of the accused lived, and from another place occasionally visited by two others, the Government of India had itself arranged that criminal proceedings should be commenced against no less than seven persons, and the Home Government had manifestly approved this step. This evidence had apparently satisfied everybody from the District Magistrate and the Commissioner in Sindh right up to the Government of Bombay, the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and would still suffice to satisfy the Governments that are now empowered to deprive people of their liberty under Regulation III of 1818 and Ordinance I of 1924. And yet it was pointed out to the jury that the Advocate-General of the United Provinces, who had been brought all the way to Karachi to make conviction a certainty, came from Allahabad, from which place also many of the printed circular letters had been posted. If the accused could on that evidence be transported for life, why, it was asked, should not the Advocate-General of U. P. share their lifelong exile and their hard prison labour? This was no case of the intimidation, or of the prejudices and prepossessions of the jury. Two of the jurors were Hindus, and three were Christians, one of whom was an Englishman and a Government employee. Not one was a Mussalman. Yet they gave a unanimous verdict of Not Guilty, and the judge, who had repeatedly expressed his own opinion against the accused in the course of his address to the jury, did not disagree in his judgement, but acquitted them so far as this, the most serious charge, was concerned. What chance of an acquittal has, we ask, a State Prisoner confined under Regulation III, or a detenu interned or committed to custody in a jail under the Ordinance? None, we say, and that is why we consider that those who were always clamouring that they were custodians of "law and order," and who would have every one submit to the Rule of Law, are now themselves the biggest law-breakers, and the creators of the Rule of Unlaw. This, however, is no new revelation, and every true son and daughter of India has long been ready for this, and for yet severer trials. The bureaucracy is not going to break Bengal, for all India is ready to share its trials and its sufferings. Only we beg our Bengal brothers to do nothing in anger or haste, and, above all, to remain non-violent. Their patriotism is undoubted, and it is only their patience that is now on trial.

In concluding this part of our examination of the official apologia, we would only refer to the Viceroy's reluctance to the use of his extraordinary powers. He says "Though the situation during 1923 was grave, I was reluctant to invoke the powers conferred upon me by the Government of India Act, until I was fully persuaded that all other means for dealing with the emergency had been exhausted." We do not know what other means the Viceroy and his lieutenants had ever tried, but in any case, they have not all been exhausted. May we ourselves suggest one? Echoing the words of a distinguished Member of the Assembly, we would like to say to His Excellency: "Try good government!" When he suggests that he has tried so many means, why should he refrain so religiously from trying this one?



The Larger Prison.

ONE of the Karachi Trial prisoners, discharged from prison a year ago, after having completed his sentence, wired to Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi that he had come out from the 'maller into the large prison, and that it would be his endeavour to search for the key of Yerrowda where her great husband was still incarcerated. It was not merely a picturesque phrase that this discharged prisoner had used, for ever since his discharge every political prisoner has been realising at every turn that India is one vast Bastille, with walls even more than nine feet thick, which must be demolished not from the outside, as in the Paris of the Revolution, but by the determination and peaceful self-sacrifices of the prisoners within. The key of the Yerrowda Jail had not been discovered before Providence forced the gate, and let out the saintly prisoner who had used it as his hermitage. But

since Providence had not waited for Indians to make a united effort to search the key of Yarrowda, and had itself acted as the turn-key in releasing the Mahatma, he too must be finding India to be a Yarrowda, much larger, though still more stifling for want of the free air of liberty.

That we are all prisoners in this country, even though we do not move about with clanking chains, is being borne in upon us with particular force by the restrictions of our movements by the Government. Patriotic Indian after patriotic Indian has been refused a passport to go abroad for the sake of his health, or for pleasure, or on business bent, in spite of repeated protests in Council and Assembly. Considerably more than a year ago Indian Mussalmans had realised that the central institution of Islam, the Khilafat, and with it the entire polity of Islam, was being thrown into the melting pot, and that it was necessary for them to meet their co-religionists abroad, and devise plans for the future working of Islam's ancient organisation, in consultation with the representatives of the rest of the Islamic world. At last when Maulana Shaukat Ali, the President-Elect of the Khilafat Committee for the ensuing year, was released a year ago, he set about asking for passports for Khilafat Delegations to visit Turkey and the various states of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. The first request was made tentatively and with some hesitation; but since the Government did not at the very outset inform the Central Khilafat Committee that no Khilafat Delegation need expect the issue of passports to its members, and only asked in the usual course for the names of the members of the various delegations, and the routes they intended to follow, the President supplied all the necessary particulars, and awaited the issue of passports. If only we in India realised that the high rampart of the Himalayas and the vast moat of the surrounding seas serve but to confine us in a vast prison we would not feel surprised to hear that the Central Khilafat Committee is still waiting for those precious passports.

At first the Government laid down the extraordinary condition that passports would not be issued to those—and they were the chief Khilafat workers—who had been imprisoned for doing Khilafat work, and specified certain offences conviction for which would act as a bar. One of these was concerned with statements likely to make the Muslim troops in India disinclined to obey the orders of their superiors to fight against brother Mussalmans defending the Khilafat. It had been pointed out in the Assembly in the course of the debate on the motion for adjournment to consider the refusal of passports, that there were no Indian troops in the Muslim States to be visited by the Khilafat Delegations whose allegiance could be tampered with, and that this restriction was more vindictive than relevant. But although the Government suffered a crushing defeat, both in the voting and in the arguments used in the debate, it refused to re-consider its earlier decision. As a matter of fact, another restriction had in the meantime been imposed, which excluded the Hindu members of these delegations whom their Mussalman co-workers had desired to take with them, in order, among other things, to make them judge for themselves the ideas and ideals of Mussalmans abroad.

All discussions with Government proved to be useless, and realising better than before the illusory nature of their freedom in India, the members of the Khilafat Working Committee decided to postpone for a time the despatch of other delegations, and, after accepting Government's conditions under protest, formed from the rump of all delegations only one delegation, namely, that which was intended to proceed to Turkey. Ever since March last when Angora had taken the disastrous step of abolishing the Khilafat itself in addition to deposing the Khalifa, it had become more than ever necessary that the delegation must in any case proceed to Angora to have a heart to heart talk with the members of the Turkish Republican Government, and with the leading lights of the party in power. It was suggested by a member of the Working Committee that perhaps Government was not disinclined to permit the Khilafat Delegation to visit an independent Muslim state like Turkey, but that its reluctance to issue passports was confined only to the Arab states where Britain ruled in reality over the mandated territories of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. This consideration, and the absolute impossibility of selecting a proper personnel for all the delegations when the major portion of the personnel selected at Cocanada had been disallowed by the Government, had induced the Khilafat Working Committee to submit to the restrictions imposed by the Government, and to select only one delegation, namely, that which was intended to visit Turkey.

This was done more than five months ago, and yet not a single passport has been issued by the Government. Applications have been made, and undertakings given, as desired by Government, and photographs for identification purposes have been supplied, and even passport fees have been paid. But the passports are not yet forthcoming, and the Khilafat Committee can do nothing but grieve and bear. No apology is forthcoming, nor anything in the nature of an explanation. The Government apparently wishes to tire out the patience of Indian Mussalmans, and Fabian tactics have apparently been adopted to consort well with the Fabian Secretary of State for India, to whom the Government seems to be eternally referring.

In the meantime affairs in the Hedjaz have compelled the Khilafat Committee to re-consider its decision to send no other delegations but the one to Angora, and it made an urgent application for passports for Khilafat delegations intending to visit Hedjaz and Nejd as well. It is obvious that unless Government issues passports to those who were convicted in the Karachi Trial and elsewhere for the offences specified in the letter of the Government dated 15th of March last, it will be impossible for all these delegations to proceed to the various countries for which they were selected at Cocanada. But the Government is adamant, in spite of the fact that both the victorious Nejdies and the defeated and dethroned *protéges* of the Hedjaz have been inviting, and every day expecting, the delegations of Indian Mussalmans. There is a pathetic ring in the protest of that sturdy "Khilafatist," Maulana Shaukat Ali, who points out to Government that if "their application for passports to the Hedjaz and Nejd is referred again to the Secretary of State, and if they have to wait again for another long period for a reply, they would infer that the Government do not wish any Khilafat deputation to go, and they would consider themselves helpless." We doubt if the helplessness of Indian Mussalmans would melt the hearts of an adamant Government. Its refusals are like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. Its rejections of Indian entreaties are settled facts and final. It is inexorable as Fate itself.

The Moving Finger writes, and having writ
Moves on; nor all your Piety and Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a word of it.

But it is not Mussalmans alone that are cribbed, cabined and confined within the prison walls of India. There are walls within walls, and even the saintly Mahatma may not go beyond them, if it be only to move from one part of India's Bastille to another. Ever since Mahatma Gandhi had heard in Delhi of the mad doings at Kohat, he was yearning to proceed to the scene of that tragedy. His Delhi host was making plans in consultation with him for a flying visit to it, when Hakeem Ajmal Khan Sahab's description of the sufferings of Kohat people so moved the Mahatma that he decided to undertake his great fast of twenty-one days. That fast was broken on the 8th instant, and Mahatma Gandhi arranged the same day with his *fidus Achates*, Maulana Shaukat Ali, and others that they should proceed on the first of November to that ill-fated town.

But all that has now been knocked on the head by the *non possumus* of the Viceroy of India. Before the Mahatma could leave his bed, even to move from one room of his house into another, he had made a formal application to the Viceroy to permit him and his Hindu and Muslim friends to go to Kohat "to find out from the inhabitants the causes of the Hindu-Muslim dissension, and, if possible, with the help of friends, to bring about peace between the two communities." This was a simple letter, and contained a very simple request, but for more than a week there was no reply, so that the Mahatma sent a telegraphic reminder on the 24th instant. To this latter a reply was sent from the Viceroy of Kashmir, and no one could judge from the contents of this wire that the upshot of the whole thing would be what it is. The Private Secretary to the Viceroy woke up ten days after the Mahatma's request only to tell him: "You do not state in your letter dated 16th October when you propose to visit Kohat. Please state for His Excellency's information on what approximate date you desire to visit Kohat." It appeared as if the Viceroy was making arrangements for the Mahatma's comforts at Kohat, and having been so late with his acknowledgment of the Mahatma's simple request, he was now anxious to expedite all the arrangements. For the P. S. V.'s telegram concluded with the request: "Kindly send your reply by telegram."

Well, the telegram was duly sent, and "the first of November or as early as possible thereafter" was the time indicated for the proposed visit. The Mahatma also indicated that he would stay two or three days at Rawalpindi, and then proceed to Kohat where he would stay three or four days. Who after this could have been prepared for the Viceroy's telegram on the following day saying a monosyllabic "No." in no less than 365 words—one apparently for every day of the year? His Excellency, donning for the nonce the mantle of a *jotishi*, thinks that "the dates you mention are not propitious for your visit to Kohat and that you will be very well advised to defer it until later." He refers to the efforts, all unknown to the rest of the world, that have been made, according to him, for some time past to bring the two communities together again at Kohat, to facilitate the resettlement of Hindus and to induce the resumption of the former neighbourly relations. Evidently the negotiations that were being carried on were extremely fragile and delicate, for the Viceroy indicates his apprehensions in the very statement of his hopes when he says, "if the course of these negotiations continues undisturbed, there is good hope of permanent peace in the near future." These apprehensions were emphasised, and it was stated that feelings were raw at the moment, and any cause might irritate the recent wounds. There

is a regular crescendo in the Viceroy's telegram, from hesitation to fear, and from apprehension to certainty, and by the time one comes to the end of this precious message, one can almost see for miles around him the glow of a border conflagration destined to consume every Hindu and Muslim in India. "For" says the Viceroy: "there is apprehension, indeed, it is almost inevitable, that excitement may be aroused by your visit which, despite your intentions, may cause a set-back there." How reminiscent, indeed, are the saintly Mahatma's good intentions of the paving stones of a Frontier Tophet!

The telegram is indeed, a work of art, and we are tempted to quote it at yet greater length. Let us see how this Viceroyal Cassandra comes to prophesy so much evil. "Hindus," runs the telegram, "will naturally gather in considerable numbers to meet you, and it is probable in present conditions that the Mohamedans will also assemble forces, and that the Trans-Border Muslims might come in to support the latter. It is feared that the result would be to range the two communities into sharply separated and hostile camps, and to intensify feelings in each camp, and there might be even more deplorable results from friction. For this reason, in His Excellency's view, it would be most unwise and undesirable for you to visit Kohat with your friends on the dates you indicate. It is appreciated that your desire is to foster unity between the two communities, but it must be remembered that in this Frontier district forces may be set in motion which it may be difficult to control." His Excellency therefore regrets that "he cannot countenance" the Mahatma's visit at present, and it is promised that when at a later date the position has changed, and when feelings have had sufficient time to become less openly and actively bitter, and only minor prejudices from past events remain to be finally "soothed, healed or eradicated," it may be possible for His Excellency to reconsider this view. Then presumably he may permit the Mahatma to try his hand at the minor job of finally soothing, healing or eradicating "only minor prejudices from past events."

His Excellency could not have phrased more delicately his jibe at the Mahatma that he had such influence as he possessed only with the Hindus, that if the Mussalmans came to Kohat at the time of his arrival from the neighbouring localities, they would only come as hostile forces organised in opposition to him as well as to his community, and that they would also attract the Trans-border tribes that Government finds such a thorn in its side, who would troop over the Border not in a spirit of hostility to itself, but as the auxiliaries of the belligerent Muslims on the British side of the Frontier. The Mahatma is too saintly to bear the Viceroy any grudge for this jibe, but we doubt if the frontier Muslims would equally readily forgive this gross libel against themselves. Nothing could better illustrate the feelings of Mussalmans in the Frontier Province, and still more the feelings across the Border, than a letter which we received from Utmanzai a month ago, when the Mahatma was fasting in order to secure unity in disturbed areas like Kohat. An ardent and influential Frontier worker asked that the following message be conveyed to Mahatmaj: not only on his own behalf but also on that of his schools and of his association:—"So long as the name of Truth and Love will remain imprinted on the page of this world, so long will numerous persons be born who would appreciate the Mahatma's golden principles of Love, Unity and Truth, and would make every conceivable sacrifice to convince the world of their value and to make mankind accept them. I hope the Mahatma will, out of regard for the love which our one thousand innocent schoolboys of independent Islamic schools cherish in their hearts for him, and for the sake of the tearful prayers they send up morning and evening to the throne of the Almighty for the realisation of his desires, break this long fast of his, and will not deprive the world of his spiritual teachings and India of his true guidance."

His Excellency seems to have ignored the fact that the Mahatma never travels alone while preaching the gospel of Hindu Muslim unity, but always keeps with him some Muslim friend commanding the confidence of his community. The Mahatma had clearly told the Viceroy that some of his Mussalman friends would accompany him, and Maulana Shaukat Ali at least had definitely agreed to be one of the party. In fact, he had been pressing Mahatma Gandhi, and rightly pressing him, to neglect, if not burn, his daily correspondence, which consisted to a large extent of communal recriminations, and to set out on his tour of inspection and reform in the manner of 1920 and 1921. Did then His Excellency imagine that while Mahatmaj himself would go to console the Hindus that would flock round him to secure his sympathy, the militant figure of Maulana Shaukat Ali would be seen organising the forces of Islam for a Holy War against the Mahatma and men of his faith?

There is a gentle hint that regions like those of the Frontier districts, are not a proper place for a "Mild Hindu," like the Mahatma to visit. But, what happened at Kohat, did not

quite prove that His Excellency's Government itself found it easy to control forces that had been set in motion there. The Mussalmans of the Frontier have long been complaining that, to use the phrase of Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the Hindu is "the favourite wife" there, and is being dealt with in way to make him a counterpoise to the more numerous and more militant Mussalmans. Licenses for arms, and even arms, are being freely given to them, and it is said that during the days of the Kohat tragedy even vitriol was greatly in evidence. We have no desire to prejudge the issue between the Mussalmans and the Hindus of Kohat, and only state what has been reported on the other side. But, as it happens, the favourite wife is to-day in no better humour than the termagant, for the Hindus have complained even more bitterly that Government failed miserably in its fundamental tasks of protecting its subjects. And yet the Viceroy would seem to imply that the armed strength of Britain alone can maintain *Pax Britannica* in the Frontier district of Kohat.

Be that as it may, it is difficult for us to appreciate the logic of one who apprehends, nay, deems it "almost inevitable" that rival forces would assemble if Mahatma Gandhi was allowed to visit Kohat, and hostile camps would be formed in which feelings would be intensified by his visit, and even more deplorable results might follow, and yet permits Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to proceed unchecked.

More than once "odorous comparisons" have been made in the Legislative Assembly and outside by officials of Government between the ascetic Mahatma and his Muslim lieutenants, the Ali Brothers, who certainly enjoy the good things of this world whenever they can honestly and honourably secure them. But we fear his asceticism did not save the Mahatma from the harsh consequences of official hostility, for where they were sentenced to imprisonment for two years each the Mahatma was awarded imprisonment for six. Once more the saintly Mahatma fares worse than his worldly Muslim co-adjutors, for if they have been refused permission to cross the seas in order to visit foreign lands like Turkey and Arabia, the Mahatma is denied admission even into Kohat, this side of the Afghan borders, and is compelled to give up his projected inland journey. Verily, the key of Yarrowda has not yet been found, and the Mahatma was only carried last February from a smaller into a larger prison.



Petty Larceny

(BY OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC)

[Motto:—"Wit is your birthright, therefore steal it where-soever you find it."—*Rigmarole Veda or Travestied Traditions.*]

Little Girl: "Your papa has only got one leg, hasn't he?"

Veteran's Little Girl: Yes."

Little Girl: "Where's his other one?"

Veteran's Little Girl: "Hush, dear. It's in heaven!"

—

An American was praising a Washington heiress.

"She is the right sort," he said. "She went abroad last year and on her return a friend asked her: 'Did you see many picturesque old ruins over there?'"

"Yes," she answered, with a faint smile, "and six of them proposed!"

—

The man who learns to say "No" generally succeeds in this world, while the woman is likely to find herself an old maid.

—

What's the good of a woman if you can't fall in love with her?

—

A man dives headlong into love, a woman paddles into it.

—

If marriages are made in heaven, they have to be tested on earth.

—

Much may be forgiven to a woman—everything if she is beautiful.

—

Although we hear so much about marriage being a failure, a couple may possibly get on very well, even if they are married, provided only that they are not married to each other.

The Revenge: A Short Story.

SHAHBAZ KHAN was one of the biggest landowners in Northern India. He possessed half a district, and was for all practical purposes the master of the destinies of a quarter of million tenants whose labours on his vast ancestral acres brought him a very large income in the form of rent. Great wealth and the exercise of so much power without the restraint of responsibility had made him an overbearing autocrat, and the way in which he had come into his own had tended to make him cynical and even relentless. For when his father had been suddenly carried off by cholera one year, he had been left a helpless little orphan in the care of an unscrupulous and hard-hearted uncle, who not only usurped all his property, but almost contrived to kill him. However, Shahbaz Khan had succeeded in surviving all these perils and plots, and when he grew into a young man he set about regaining his possessions. For this he had to rely on such resources as his youthful intelligence supplied, and in dealing with an unscrupulous and hard-hearted man, and with none to help him in the formation of his own character, he had himself become unscrupulous and hard-hearted. His ultimate success in this struggle of wit against wit and falsehood against falsehood, from which he emerged the biggest Zamindar of his province, while his usurping uncle was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, had made him disbelieve in all but force and fraud.

Had he continued to grow like this he might have become a worse man than his uncle. But he was fortunate enough to marry a truly angelic woman, whom he soon learnt to respect and to love. His tenants and servants were not long in discovering the change that this marriage had wrought in the character of their landlord and master; but the hopes that they had begun to build on that were destined to be as short-lived as his young and beautiful and angelic wife. In giving birth to a daughter her young life was cut short; and the grief that overwhelmed her husband cut him off from all intercourse with his neighbours, and made him morose and stern and relentless to such an extent that he was hardly human any longer in his sympathies. In a dull sort of way, without any enjoyment in either, he went on remorselessly exercising his autocratic power and adding to his already great wealth.

The only soft spot in his heart was in the exclusive occupancy of the beautiful little Zubaida, his daughter whose birth had coincided with the death of her mother. With her he was still as gentle as his wife had contrived to make him in that solitary year of wedded bliss, and her least desire was fulfilled, and often anticipated. He had never thought of marrying a second time, not so much on account of his little daughter, as on his own account; for after his wife's sudden death he had despaired of deriving any happiness out of life, let alone conjugal happiness. But his single estate had left his growing daughter companionless, and he had for some time been thinking what he could do to provide her with more cheerful company than his own.

One afternoon when he was out riding, he came upon a camp of gipsies, who hail from the Perso Baluch frontier and roam all over India, selling faked "old coins," scimitars, knives, and sometimes also horses, and eking out a scanty enough livelihood by occasional petty larceny. Their caravan consisted of a few ponies, mostly limping, some lean buffaloes, a few goats and a number of dogs. A small group of men and women and children had halted for the night outside one of the larger villages on Shahbaz Khan's estate, not many miles from the one in which he had his own residence, and where he carried on the business of his zamindari. They had erected their crude tents on the untilled ground by the roadside, and were busy in arranging things for the night's comfort.

Several children were playing at a distance from the encampment, and among them Shahbaz Khan noted a girl of remarkable beauty. In her long gipsy shirt and short skirts, and with a wealth of coins strung together into a necklace she made a perfect picture. She had such gloriously bright, laughing eyes, and her sweet smile displayed a magnificent set of teeth. At first Shahbaz Khan was so struck by her beauty that he reined in his horse and continued to gaze at her with intense concentration. Then he seemed to wake up with a start, for he

realized that she was apparently of the same age as his own Zubaida who was now nearing her eighth birthday. He was seized by a great impulse to take this girl home as a companion for his Zubaida; but at the same moment he realized that he could not hope to succeed if he tried to buy off the girl from her gipsy parents, no matter how much he offered for her. He was a man of quick decisions, and since he determined that Zubaida should have this beautiful girl for a companion, it did not take him long to decide that he must ride off with her back home in the gloaming, and leave it to the gipsies to decide how best to take this as an accomplished fact. If they succeeded in finding out the place the girl had been taken to, he would offer them a large enough sum to take or to leave as they willed, but on no account would he return their girl to them. And if they could not trace her, he would still arrange to send them that large sum with his *Kartidas* or estate agents with instructions to buy all their lame ponies and lean buffaloes and their faked coins, pretending not to know they were faked and worthless. The gipsies would get the money, and would have the added satisfaction of having fooled his agents. This he imagined would satisfy them. At least his own conscience would be clear. Such was the logic, and such the ethics of the man who contrived to separate this particular gipsy girl from her playmates, and pulling her off the ground, and placing her up in front of himself on the saddle. Shahbaz Khan galloped away home to Zubaida.

Having brought the gipsy girl home he arranged with the chief agent of his estate to have her confined secretly in a secluded part of his house in a basement, and having disposed of her in this manner, and expecting to take her to his daughter a few days later when any trouble that might arise had blown over, he went to bed completely satisfied. He had, however, not rested many hours when he was awakened by noise outside his gate. Enquiring what all that pother was about, he learnt that a party of the gipsies sought entrance and were jabbering in a hardly intelligible manner something about a gipsy girl who had been kidnapped. Shahbaz Khan was no doubt annoyed to find that they had traced the girl to his house, but instead of having these uncanny sleuth-hounds turned out of the grounds of his palatial residence by his Pathan retainers, he decided to cheat them peacefully, and promised himself not a little enjoyment out of their deception. He denied all knowledge of the girl, and with disarming calmness, argued that the gipsy child could be of no use to him. Nevertheless, since they suspected that it was he who had galloped away with their girl, he would open the gates of his house and would let them examine every nook and corner of it for themselves, much as he felt insulted by their suspicion and was in consequence inclined to have them thrown out of his grounds neck and crop.

This did not seem to reassure the gipsies, and the moment the gates were opened they swarmed in and began to look a round, moving from corner to corner with a fierce energy that almost unnerved Shahbaz Khan. But he would not spoil the game he was playing, and when they had searched his *Diwankhana* and *Kutchery*, and the quarters of his numerous retainers, and his stables and the *Feelkhana* where half a dozen elephants indicated his greatness and wealth, he came forward affably and said that, to make assurance doubly sure, he would now throw open the gates of his *Zenana* too, and would conduct the women of their party himself to the ladies' apartments, where they could search for the missing girl to their heart's content.

Even this search proved of no effect. The missing girl was, of course, not there, and the gipsies knew nothing of the existence of a basement. But they were not satisfied, and continued to demand their girl in increasingly severe tones. When their indignant demands proved of no avail, they resorted to threats, and their frenzied looks lent weight to their words. Finding threats equally useless, they offered to ransom the girl. They offered money, horses, buffaloes, in fact, anything and everything in their possession if only they could have their *Sheerin* back. But Shahbaz Khan was obdurate and unrelenting. Entreaties and appeals to his mercy and humanity, which were obviously forced out of these poor but proud people with great difficulty, failed to make any impression upon the Zamindar. Even the cry of the gipsy mother deprived of her child melted every heart but his, and, in fact, focused

- him to a display of the anger he had hitherto curbed successfully. He ordered his large host of retainers to turn them all out, and instructed the chief of his estate agents to see to it that by daybreak not one of the Baluchis should remain on any part of his vast estate.

As his men advanced to carry out their master's order, the chief of the gipsies who was the father of the missing girl turned round and facing the crowd of retainers shouted out "Stand where you are, all of you. If any of you advances a pace, it will mean instantaneous death for him. We do not generally pollute our hands with fighting such wretches as you, slaves that you are to the will of this cruel tyrant. But there are limits, and he who transgresses them would have to make an early acquaintance with the blade of a Baluchi's knife!"

This mingled rebuke and threat had instantaneous effect, for every man stopped where he was, and even Shahbaz Khan was struck dumb and could issue no further orders. The old Baluchi chief then turned to him and said: "Shahbaz Khan, we are convinced it is you who are the thief of our child, big Zamindar and lord of many acres though you be. It is true we have not yet found our girl, but we have tracked her to the grounds of your residence, and our search never fails. You have separated our child from us. It is yet time for you to relent. But if you do not relent even now, you shall repent. One word more and we are gone. A gipsy loves his child very dearly; but, remember, he loves revenge even more!" So saying he turned his back upon the Zamindar and walked away a picture of dignity and strength and of fierce determination.

Before daybreak the gipsies had struck their rude tents and broken up their camp, and as Shahbaz Khan sat down to his first meal of the day, he received the report of his chief *Kurinda* that no Baluchi remained on his estate any longer.

A week passed without anything happening to disturb the satisfaction of Shahbaz Khan at having achieved such easy success. Although he heard that some gipsy women were seen prowling round his kitchen, he concluded that they must have come to steal some food, and paid no further heed to the report.

But a few days later his daughter Zubaida was found to be very ill. She had gone to bed on the previous night soon after dinner complaining that her head was swimming, and even by eight o'clock when the sun had been up for nearly two hours she had not stirred but lay fast asleep. Her *Anna*, the foster-mother that had brought her up from the hour of her birth, at last tried to wake her up, but failed. At this the whole household was greatly alarmed, and Shahbaz Khan was immediately informed, and asked to bring with him the aged Hakeem who had been living there as the family physician for two generations. However, nothing that the Hakeem could do brought consciousness to the girl, and the old women of the house, whose superstitious beliefs credited gipsies with magical powers, clamoured that this was no case for a Hakeem, and that *Maulvis* should be sent for to mend matters with their pious incantations.

Shahbaz Khan's guilty conscience made him almost as superstitious as the old women. Accordingly he dismissed the old Hakeem with ill-concealed impatience, and hastily summoned *Maulvis* from the mosques of all the neighbouring villages. They came as speedily as they could, some only out of piety, others also in expectation of an earthly reward, and ranging themselves round the bed of the unconscious girl, they commenced to recite all they could remember of any *Wazeefa* for exorcising people under a magic spell. An hour later, when prayers proved as ineffective as potions, Shahbaz Khan had them sent away with as scant courtesy as he had shown to the Hakeem, and once more sent for the latter. But this second summons, although it was obeyed, as it was bound to be, even if not with too much alacrity, and even though it gratified the self-love of the aged physician, and avenged his hurt dignity, did not restore his good-will. He only felt the still unconscious Zubaida's pulse, and without more ado, declared with ill-suppressed triumph that it was just as he had expected. The *neem Mullah* (half-a-divine) had proved not the *khatra-i-iman* (a danger to faith), as the proverb had it, but *khatra-i-jan* (a danger

to life), which the old proverb had predicted only of the *neem Hakeem* or half-a-physician.

Shahbaz Khan, whose anger had so long sustained him, now broke down completely. His reason told him it was no magic spell that had taken away his daughter, and his guilty conscience told him that the Angel of Death had avenged the gipsy parents robbed of their own child. After the first outburst of grief, as short as it was violent, he became preternaturally calm. The funeral arrangements were left to the steward of his household, and when Zubaida had been buried, he betook himself to a small room in his *Diwankhana* where he gave instructions to his servants that he was on no account to be disturbed. He would lie there on a bare bedstead and would go on gazing uninterruptedly at the ceiling as if he expected to see his daughter's features mirrored on the ceiling cloth.

Day followed day, but his grief was just as fresh as on the day when he had stood by the side of Zubaida's grave, inert and mute, a picture of misery and despair. He shed no tear. No sob or sigh ever escaped him. He felt he had been punished for robbing the gipsies of their child; but he denied the justice of the sentence passed on him and executed so swiftly by a Power whose greatness even he had to acknowledge. What, he argued, was a wandering gipsy's daughter after all that his own Zubaida, the daughter of such a powerful and wealthy Zamindar, should be taken away from him? No, there was no justice in all this, and impotent rage against the unjust decree of an inexorable Fate even more than grief went on consuming him. The consolation of religion was denied to him through long neglect of all religious thoughts and duties, and he passed his days smouldering in a hell of his own creation even before life in this world had ended for him.

Some ten years after this tragedy occurred an event which roused Shahbaz Khan from his semi-comatose condition of body and mind and goaded him once more into activity. A caravan of Baluchi gipsies had halted near one of the villages owned by him and only a few miles distant from the large village where he himself resided.

This was not in any way uncommon, for hardly a year passed when one or two gipsy caravans did not encamp in that vicinity. A good country-road leading to the place, half-town half-village, where Shahbaz Khan resided passed close to that village, and since it was a convenient stage for journeys undertaken on foot or in a country cart, Shahbaz Khan had built a large well and planted a number of mango trees near it for the convenience of travellers, so that they could halt there for a few hours, and even pass the night there on their way to the headquarters of his estate. It so happened that Zaitoon Bibi, Zubaida's old nurse, accompanied by a servant or two, was returning from the village home of Zubaida's mother whither Zubaida and her nurse, and after Zubaida's death her nurse alone, used to go religiously once a year to meet her grand-parents and to keep alive the memory of their departed daughter. While the old nurse was resting at the mango tope and her companions had gone to the village to purchase some light refreshments, some gipsy women came from their encampment to the well to fetch some water. The sight of the gipsies recalled to the mind of the nurse the picture of her lost Zubaida, and a tear-drop glistened in each eye of the old nurse. Shortly after another batch of gipsy women, mostly young, approached the well. Among them was a young girl of astonishing beauty, distinguished from her companions by a certain coyness and dignity of bearing that were foreign to this tribe of wandering people. On closer examination her features too seemed to be of a different cast, and although she wore the ordinary gipsy dress, and spoke their peculiar *patois*, she seemed to have little else in common with them.

Zaitoon Bibi was drawn to this beautiful shy girl and continued to stare at her for quite a long time. Suddenly she rose from the little *shatranji* spread on the ground near her *rath*, and going quite close to the girl, she looked for a moment right into her face. The girl, was greatly embarrassed by so much attention being paid to her, and moved away to the other side of the well. The old nurse did not, however, cease to look in her direction, but finally she too

moved away, and slowly returned to the *shatranj* where she had been reclining. Laying herself down on it she sighed several times, and muttered to herself, "No; it cannot be. God has taken her away from us. It is not possible. Oh, I cannot see my Zubaida again this side of the grave. Would to God that I died soon and stood face to face with my girl in the other world as I stood just now facing this gipsy girl, who yet seems to be no gipsy but the very image of her."

The gipsy women filled their pitchers and went back to their encampment, all but the girl that had reminded the old nurse of her Zubaida. She seemed to be filling her pitcher, but far too slowly for a young and strong girl. By the time she had filled it the others had moved a fair distance away, and were hidden by the mango tope that intervened between them and the well. The girl then lifted her pitcher of water, but instead of taking the path the others had followed, she came to the spot where the old nurse lay sighing for Zubaida. "What ails you, mother?" she asked. "And why did you look into my face so closely a moment ago?" The old nurse sighed again and told her of the sad death of Zubaida of whom her face and bearing had reminded her. "Oh, how closely dost thou resemble her! Yes, just those beautiful eyes. And just those sweet lips. I could have taken my oath thou wert no gipsy girl but her own elder sister had she but had one. But she was her father's only child, and, now that I come to think of it, had she lived she would have been thine own age." The old nurse broke into sobs at this and kissed the gipsy girl and pressed her to her bosom. This touched the girl greatly, and she confided to the old woman that she too did not think she was the daughter of a gipsy, for she remembered having lived long ago in a large house and not having had to wander about in those early days as she had been doing now for many years. She could not say where it was, nor when it was. It all seemed so far off. Perhaps, she admitted, it was only a fancy of hers, but, oh! she so wanted to have a house to live in and not to have to move from place to place.

The girl would perhaps have gone on much longer in this strain, but she heard the compelling tones of a harsh voice from behind the mango tope calling out to her "Sheerin!" "Sheerin!" "Where are you, and what are you doing here so late? And to whom are you talking?" At this the girl hurriedly stood up, and went out to meet the old gipsy woman, who had called out to her, and who was now limping up energetically towards her. "Mother," she replied, "here is a poor old woman who seems to be very ill, and I was just asking her if I could do anything to help her." But the fire of a pair of small glistening eyes that bored into her like gimlets silenced her. "What have you to do with old women on the road-side, ill or well?" thundered the fierce old woman. "Come at once! Father wants you." With this the two walked away, and the old nurse was left alone. Shortly afterwards the retainers and servants that accompanied her *rath* returned from the village with the refreshments and soon after the whole party prepared to re-start on their journey.

All the way old Zaitoon Bibi, the foster-mother of Zubaida, went thinking of this girl and then of Zubaida, and drive it away how she might, the thought would come back to her again and again, that this gipsy girl who fancied she was not a gipsy's daughter, and that she had lived long ago in a large house, was her own Zubaida. What miracle was this that had brought the dead out of the grave? But was not Allah potent over all things? Did not the Holy Quran say that He bringeth the living out of the dead, and bringeth the dead out of the living? Having thought in this strain all the rest of the journey, she lost no time in telling her master of the girl she had seen. She added, "If I had not myself seen with these eyes my daughter being laid in the grave I should have had no hesitation in saying that the girl was my own Zubaida. But my sight has grown weak through much weeping and I cannot tell. Perhaps you, Khan Sahib, could go and find out the truth better than a poor ignorant woman like me."

Zaitoon Bibi spoke hesitatingly, for she had so long watched the listless manner of Shahbaz Khan ever since his daughter's death that she doubted if anything could ever restore even a trifle of his old energy, into him. But the effect of the old nurse's words was electric. Shahbaz Khan seemed to have been galvanized in an instant, and catching hold of her hand none too gently, and speaking with a jerky brusqueness that Zaitoon Bibi who had never been used to such rough

treatment at his hands, was inclined to resent, he said: "Come, woman, take me to the encampment of these devils at once. Where is it? Where is the girl you saw? Where is my Zubaida?" Fearing that the man had lost his reason, and yet afraid to thwart his will, she agreed to travel with him the same night, to the gipsy's caravan, though she was already feeling feverish with fatigue and with her exciting experience.

Before daybreak the little party to which, in his eagerness, moved forward to meet his daughter, Shahbaz Khan had taken with him, arrived at the gipsies' encampment. Early as it was, the gipsy women were stirring, some fetching water from the well and others lighting a fire for their husband's *hukkas* and their children's breakfast. Among those at the well Shahbaz Khan at once spotted out the girl to whom Zaitoon Bibi had referred without needing to be told which girl it was. She certainly seemed to be an apparition of his own daughter in gipsy dress, excepting that her face was fairly tanned and her figure was fuller. He advanced to the place where she was standing and stared at her with a fierce intensity. To him just then the world seemed to have but one problem to solve, whether this was or was not his Zubaida. All of a sudden he rushed towards the girl, and putting his own face almost within an inch of hers, he exclaimed, "The scar!" "The scar!" "Yes, the scar is also there!" For he had recognised a tiny little scar on the left temple of the girl which Zubaida had borne ever since she had fallen as a little mite on a projecting piece of stone on the Zenana steps. After this, he roughly embraced the girl, and bursting into tears over her neck, cried out in the most piteous manner, "Oh, my Zubaida!" "My Zubaida!" So far the girl had stood as if spell-bound. She had neither stirred nor spoken a word, and her heaving bosom alone had indicated that she was not a statue carved out of stone but a living creature. But now she seemed to wake up, and the scales seemed to fall away from her eyes. Memories of the old days when she had lived with him were revived, and it no longer appeared to be only a fancy of hers. She responded to the embrace of Shahbaz Khan, and answered, "Yes, father, I am your Zubaida. But why had you left me? And where have you been all this time?" This was all that she could say, for the next moment she had swooned and fallen at the feet of Shahbaz Khan.

This incident now roused the gipsies, who were attending to their cattle, or cooking their food behind the mango tope, and they hastened to the spot, just when Shahbaz Khan was raising up the girl with the help of the old nurse. He was severely shaken, and pushed back by half a dozen fierce Baluchis, among whom he recognized all too painfully their old chief who had demanded his own girl from him ten years ago. For a moment Shahbaz Khan was taken aback, and recoiled a step or two; but the next moment his voice, the voice of a powerful Zamindar that he had been, rose above the jabbering of the gipsies. "Get away, you rascals!" he cried. "You dare not touch my daughter! I know not by what base magic you had taken her away from me. But now I am powerful enough to resist your magic."

So saying he turned once more towards the girl, and throwing his arms round her and kissing her tenderly on the brow he said, "Oh, my poor daughter! Oh, my luckless little daughter! Nothing shall now part thee from me; no, not even the grave!"

But just then a powerful arm was thrust between him and the girl, and a strong Baluchi lad pushed him aside. Turning his back upon him, the youth embraced the girl and said: "None shall come between thee and me, Oh, my Sheerin! What if this man claims thee as his daughter? Forty thousand fathers could not love thee as I do? And four hundred thousand cannot snatch thee away from me, for have I not won thee from the grave?"

Shahbaz Khan, although he had only three or four of his retainers to help him if it came to fighting--thanks to his all too hurried departure from his residence, when, in his eagerness to meet the girl who looked like his daughter, he would not tarry until others got ready to accompany him--was not cowed by the strength of the Baluchi lad or the number of his gipsy companions who stood all around him with drawn daggers. What, however, seems to have taken his courage away was the flow of passionate words of love that fell from the youth, and the silent response they seemed to create in the tell-tale eyes of his own blushing daughter.

Vigour once more deserted him, and after that spasmodic display of energy which had surprised Zaitoon Bibi and which had sustained him so long, he became once more the inert and passive creature that the tragedy of ten years ago had left him. He could do nothing but gaze like an imbecile with mouth agape at the fine couple that the gipsy lad and this girl were making with the light of the morning sun beating full on their young faces and bathing their vigorous youthful frames.

Seeing his discomfiture, the gipsies began to jeer at him, and in his shame and agony big drops of tears began to course down his cheeks and beard. The old Baluchi chief, with bitter sarcasm, reminded him that his own daughter of whom the powerful Zamindar had robbed him was just as dear to him, a poor gipsy though he was, and then, perhaps touched by Shahbaz Khan's ill-suppressed remorse, of which no words of his, but his face and figure and whole bearing, gave a clear enough indication, he concluded. "This is a Baluchi's revenge. I had warned you."

Shahbaz Khan was cut to the quick by these words of the old chief; but so great was his yearning for his lost and newly-found daughter that it was impossible even for a gipsy to insult him. He pocketed whatever pride was still left in him, and said: "All this was destined to happen. Old man, I admit I had wronged thee; but I have nonetheless brought up thy daughter just as my own would have been, even though at first she was like a wild cat, and would tear and bite all who would console and comfort her, and several times tried to escape from my house. But see her for thyself if thou dost not believe me or this old nurse of my daughter whom she has learnt to love like her own mother. Take her back, for she is thine, and restore my Zubaida to me." "Impossible!" exclaimed the old Baluchi. "What good is to me the girl thou hast kept confined within the walls of thy palace, breathing its foul and polluted air for ten long years? To us gipsies who wander as freely as the air itself a house is not a house but a grave. My Sheerin became entombed when she was kept under a roof other than the blue vault of heaven, and within walls other than those of our rude tents. And ever since I rescued thy daughter from the grave to which thou hadst foolishly consigned her—not knowing the power of the science of us barbarians, who could almost bring back the dead to life just as they could send with a blow of their Baluch dagger the living into the midst of the dead,—I say, ever since I rescued her from the grave I have felt as if it was I that had brought her into the world and not thou. She did not like to trudge long distances on foot or go in our caravan carts nor to live in our tents. She was too tame for us, and I see that thou hast at last tamed my own "wild cat" as thou callest her. But in one thing we too have tamed thy daughter. The credit of that is not, however, mine. It is my son's, who has subdued her with his courage and with his strength, and, I am not ashamed to say, with his love. Yes, with a wandering gipsy's love for thy tame domesticated puss." "This is my Sheerin now," he said, pointing to the girl who stood blushing, "and the girl in thy house is thy Zubaida, or whatever else thou callest her. It is impossible that we should once more exchange daughters. It cannot be." "Impossible!" "Totally impossible!" shouted the other gipsies too. "Impossible," calmly added the powerful youth who had pushed Shahbaz Khan aside. "She may be thy daughter, but she is also my wife and, God be praised, she will soon be the mother of my child!"

The light of love in the eyes of his girl and the blushes that were time after time suffusing her cheeks had already prepared Shahbaz Khan for this revelation. Nonetheless, when his own suspicions were put into words, he felt their shock as of a sledge-hammer blow and reeled under the impact. He grasped his head with both hands and murmured: "Oh God! Shahbaz Khan's daughter and a Kanjar's wife!" At the word "Kanjar" every gipsy eye glistened like an opal, and once more knives and daggers leapt out of pocket and sheath. But Shahbaz Khan was neither afraid nor did he care to fight. He expressed regret for what had escaped him in his grief, and said to the old Baluchi chief: "My brother, God's will is done. Let us be friends. We have now been united. Your son shall be my son, and he shall also be my heir. You and your friends and followers shall be my kinsmen, and all that is mine shall be yours and theirs." The gipsy chief replied: "Even if we could trust thee, the chief of my daughter that is mine no more, dost thou think we could ex-

change the freedom of the Son of the Road with the captivity that thou thinkest to be power and pelf? No, we shall not tie ourselves to thy acres, vast though they be. For us God's world is far vaster than thy large estate, and as our Persian proverb says, my foot is not lame."

Finding that nothing would avail him, Shahbaz Khan became desperate, and was about to whip out a pistol from his saddle-bag when his hand was caught as in a vice. "None of thy fooling here, thou hopeless imbecile!" shouted the sturdy son of the old gipsy chief whose lynx-eyed vigilance, agility and strength had prevented Shahbaz Khan from carrying out the design he had so suddenly formed in his desperation. "Thy life is now forfeit to us for this rash attempt, but for thy Zubaida's sake, as thou callest my darling wife, I spare it. But thinkest thou, O fool, that we are detaining thy daughter against her will, as thou hast kept my sister imprisoned in thy palace against hers? See, I give her leave to go with thee—that is if she cares enough for thee. But if she is mine, as she is no doubt by right of love, she will not tarry. Here to prolong thy torture, but follow me, her master—and her slave!"

So saying he turned his back upon the whole group and slowly walked away, humming a Baluchi love-song that sounded as if a bird was calling to its mate. At first the girl on whom all eyes were now turned stood undecided and hesitating; but before the gipsy lad had gone twenty steps she began to follow him, even though with slow reluctant steps. Once when she neared the mango tope, which in another instant would hide her from the gaze of Shahbaz Khan, she turned round and cast such a piteous glance at him and the old nurse that even Shahbaz Khan, whose gorge was rising at such base ingratitude and dearth of filial affection, as he thought in his egotism, was induced to forgive her. He had imagined he had himself drunk the cup of misery to the dregs; but that solitary glance instantaneously convinced him that the cup of misery has no dregs, or that if it has, they were not his to drink, but were the portion of his daughter, torn between love for her father and love for her mate. He, who had hidden the ugly features of Death in a beautiful monumental grave in white marble over his little daughter's remains ten years ago, could hardly realize that Death was the leveller of rich and poor, great and small. But even he was compelled to recognise the omnipotence of Love the Leveller. Here was the daughter of a wealthy and powerful Zamindar, and she of her own free will would leave him and would cleave to a "Kanjar"! Without saying another word he mounted his horse and slowly rode away.

Within an hour of Shahbaz Khan's return the story was all over the village where he lived, and his retainers and tenants all came round to his residence, partly out of curiosity and partly out of sympathy. He had locked himself up in a room and would not come out the whole of the day, but apprehending that he would put an end to his own life, they began towards nightfall to batter the door, and this induced him at last to open it. Their curiosity soon appeared to exceed their sympathy, and they made poor Shahbaz Khan repeat the story himself. Not a few were incredulous, and their disbelief was increased when the old Hakeem who had attended Zubaida ten years ago was loud in his protestations that, by all the rules of Hippocrates and Galen and the still greater Shaikh, the girl was dead as a stone long before he allowed her to be buried. He would stake his professional reputation upon that, as if any vestige of respect for his professional reputation had remained in the mind of Shahbaz Khan after the Hakeem's failure to save his daughter.

Nevertheless, in response to the increasing clamour of the people he reluctantly consented to have the grave of Zubaida opened. They all gathered round in the grave-yard, and a dozen sturdy labourers began to dig all round the stone work of the grave.

It took them the best part of four hours that night to finish their task. It was still dark when it neared completion, but the stars were disappearing one by one as in the east the grey twilight of early morn began to be visible.

When the grave had been opened up, it was found to be empty and as smooth and clean as a new one.

With beating heart Shahbaz Khan looked into it for a second or two; but the next moment he dropped down—dead!

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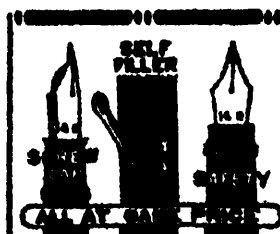
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CONTENTS.

PAGE.	PAGE.
THE MOSUL MUDDLE -	The Plight of King No 2 22
Turkish Reply to Britain 17	Intervention 22
Turkish Appeal to League 18	LEADING ARTICLES -
British Reply to Turkey 18	Election Reflections .. 23
Turkish View 18	A Lesson for Labour
Mr. Thomas on the	and for India 24
Mosul Situation .. 19	
A Turkish Protest .. 19	GUP--
BRITAIN & EGYPT-- .. 20	The Bengal Unlaw
TELE A TELE--	Criminal Amend-
The Mosul Muddle 21	ment Bill 26-29
The Status Quo .. 21	Petty Larceny 29
The League's Decision .. 21	ADVERTISEMENTS-- 30-32
Exit Sharief Husain .. 22	
The Royal Baggage 22	
"Official Departure" .. 22	

The trouble is that there is no agreement as to what is the *status quo*.

Under the abortive Treaty of Sevres the frontier was to be "the northern boundary of the vilayet of Mosul, modified so as to pass south of Amadia." It was the territory south of this line presumably over which the League gave a mandate to Great Britain. And this the Turks appear to claim as the *status quo* frontier.

During 1921, however, the Iraq authorities, for military reasons, pushed their control north of Amadia into the Assyrian mountains. And in the Hakkari hills even further north, they re-settled numbers of Assyrian Christian tribesmen, who had been expelled after their rebellion during the war. These tribesmen appear to consider that their repatriation in these circumstances implies that they are under the protection of the British authorities, and not under Turkish rule. Therefore, when the Turks began to re-establish their administration in the Hakkari hills, the Assyrians resisted, and appear to have appealed for assistance to Iraq, which was not given.

The Turkish operations continued - driving numbers of Assyrian fugitives south to Amadia. And in the course of the operations Turkish troops crossed the existing frontier near Amadia, and were repulsed by British aeroplanes.

Protests were promptly sent to Angora, and measures taken for the protection of the frontier against further raids. It is to these protests that the Turks have now replied.

The text of the answer has not yet been made public. But it appears to be much as one expected. The Turks declare that their troops have not crossed the *status quo* frontier (that is to say, the Sevres Treaty frontier) at all. If they have come on to ground north of that frontier, which is occupied by Iraq and British forces, it is the Iraq and British forces who are wrong. In any case, the troops are being withdrawn. And a temporary line of demarcation is suggested.

And there the matter stands uneasily. Anglo-Iraq frontier officers are plainly apprehensive of a Turkish movement threatening Mosul. The Turks fear (and they can find much justification for their fear in the British Press) that we intend to try to take from them not merely the territory claimed at Sevres, but also Amadia and the Hakkari mountains.

The soldiers are thinking of "scientific frontiers." One sees a disturbing parallel between Iraq and the Punjab, Kurdistan and Afghanistan, and remembers costly, futile Afghan wars for that same phrase.

The Mosul Muddle.

Turkish Reply to Britain.

[By the Diplomatic Correspondent of the "Daily Herald"]

THE talk of an "ultimatum" to Turkey over the Iraq frontier trouble is rather mischievous nonsense. The Government is trying to negotiate a settlement with Turkey under the provision of the Treaty of Lausanne. Complications have been caused by troop movements on the disputed frontier. Two Notes to Angora received no answer. At last the British representative in Constantinople pressed for—and received—an answer by Saturday.

So much for the "ultimatum." The problem, however, remains troublesome enough. And it is not being made easier by the rhetorical talk of a "Turkish outrage" and so on which has begun in the Tory Press.

At Geneva last month both Great Britain and Turkey agreed to accept the frontier between Iraq and Turkey, which should be defined by the League of Nations Committee of Inquiry. And both agreed that pending the decision of the League there should be no change in the *status quo*.

A dangerous enough situation, certainly, if our diplomacy were to allow itself either to be stampeded by frontier incidents or to be dragged into an endless game of filching strategical positions. But that, fortunately, is not a credible eventuality while the direction of policy lies in the hands which hold it at the moment.—W. N. E.

Turkish Appeal to League.

ON October 13, Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, read to the members of the Council of the League the following telegram he had received from the Turkish Government:—

Great Britain, in an *aide-memoire* addressed to Turkey on October 5, declares that the Turkish and British delegates agreed at Geneva to respect the *status quo* in regard to the frontier in Iraq, adding that the said *status quo* goes back to the time of the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, and that the Note of September 29, sent to Turkey by Great Britain, defined the line X the said *status quo*. The British Government expresses the hope that in conformity with the engagements entered into by Fethi Bey at Geneva the Turkish Government will issue orders to its troops to return to the line occupied before recent events and declares that in the contrary case the situation will assume a character of great gravity.

In the verbal Note of October 9, Great Britain expresses surprise at not having received a reply to its Note of October 5, declaring that to its knowledge the Turkish authorities, far from withdrawing their troops from the territory occupied by them, had, on the contrary, shown greater activity by fresh concentrations. The Note adds that the British Government cannot tolerate this state of affairs, and that if Turkey does not agree to withdraw her troops to the line mentioned in the Note of September 29, Great Britain will resume full liberty of action to adopt military measures with a view to restoring the situation as from noon on October 11. The British authorities in Iraq have received orders in this sense, and have been authorised to warn the Turkish commandant that such military measures will be taken.

When the League Council recently began its examination of the controversy between Great Britain and Turkey with regard to Iraq in conformity with the Lausanne Treaty, we submitted two notes, dated September 16 and 22 respectively, referring to the violation of the *status quo* by the British. We took note at the same time that Great Britain, on her side, in two notes dated September 25 and 29 raised certain grievances and made certain claims. The Council of the League, after having had in hand all these notes, and following examination of them, came to a decision on September 30. On that date both parties agreed to respect the then position.

While Turkey, in spite of legitimate grievances and claims, respects the position as laid down on September 30 by the League of Nations, Great Britain insists, on the contrary, on the demands she put forward in her Note of September. Britain thus violates the engagement she entered into to obey the decision of the League of Nations.

In the reply we sent to Great Britain on October 10, we explained, after having analysed and completely refuted the arguments set forth in the British note of September 29, that the report that we engaged upon fresh military activities or concentration of troops was devoid of foundation, that the position laid down on September 30 had been respected by us, that the line existing at that date would not be crossed by us, and that the transport northwards of the troops concentrated with a view to suppressing brigands, notice of which had been given to the League, had been proceeding for the past week. We added that there was no legal ground for Great Britain to interpret and modify as against Turkey the decision taken by the League of Nations. We declared, however, that we were ready to submit, if Great Britain considered it necessary, to the examination and decision of the League of Nations our manner of interpreting the decision taken by the League (on September 30).

If, therefore, Great Britain, laying aside the engagement she entered into regarding the decision of the League of Nations, disturbs peace and commits acts of aggression, the responsibility is entirely hers. Turkey, therefore, claims the right to ask the Council of the League to be good enough to adopt measures with a view to compelling

respect for the decision which those concerned undertook to respect. I beg you to be good enough to bring the matter to the knowledge of the Council at once.

Copies of the notes mentioned in this telegram are being sent to you by post. (Signed) ISMET PASHA.

British Reply to Turkey.

THE Foreign Office issued on October 14, the following statement dealing with the question of the invasion by the Turks of British mandated territory in Iraq:—

"His Majesty's Government have now received and considered the Turkish reply to their Notes on the Iraq frontier question. The main difference between the two Governments turns on the question of what is the *status quo* to be maintained pending the final settlement of the frontier by the Council of the League of Nations. The two Governments are not agreed in regard to the interpretation to be placed on the resolution adopted by the Council on this subject on September 30. The Turkish Government having expressed their willingness that the point should be referred back to the Council for decision, the Secretary of State for the Colonies (in the absence of the Prime Minister) has informed the Turkish Minister, whom he saw this morning, that His Majesty's Government readily agree to this course. The necessary steps are being taken to inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. In the meantime, it is distinctly understood that neither side will advance its forces beyond the lines now occupied."

If this statement is compared with what is known of the contents of the last British Note to Turkey, it will be seen that the attitude of the Government has altered. In that Note, delivered last Thursday, the British Government demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Turkish forces from territory which it considers to be within the British mandatory area of Iraq, and intimated that if this were not done by noon on Saturday the British military authorities in Iraq would be at liberty to re-establish the situation. Now, however, the British Government has agreed to waive this demand for an immediate withdrawal, and the Turkish troops are to be allowed to remain where they are pending a fresh ruling by the Council of the League as to which *status quo*, that of the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923) or that of its own Resolution (September 30, 1924), is the one which British and Turks have alike undertaken to respect. A thorough study of Lord Parmoor's statements on the subject to the Council of the League will doubtless make clear what interpretation should be put on the point at issue.—*Times*.

Turkish Views.

[From the "Times" Correspondent.]

Constantinople, Oct. 14.

WITH the passage of time and the absence of any material development in the situation, a feeling of optimism is getting the upper hand. Fethi Bey, the President of the Grand National Assembly, who left last night for Angora, states that the passage in the *Tanin* in which he was made to say that he thought war was not improbable is inaccurate and declares that he really said the exact opposite. Zekai Bey, the Turkish Minister in London, has sent a long message in which he states his opinion that no British Government would undertake the responsibility for a new war. Most responsible circles here feel that all now depends on the British reply to the Turkish Note of October 10.

Meanwhile another symptom that war is regarded as less probable is the fact that the Press here is printing vague reflections indicating discontent with the Turkish Government. The *Tanin*, which to-day comments for the first time on the crisis, again complains of the ignorance in which the public has been kept throughout the whole episode, and clearly hints that the Government is weak and has not managed to rally the people properly behind it. Even the *Teahid-i-Esfiar* seems to tax General Ismet Pasha with negligence in handling the Mosul affair and discounts the eventual attribution of Mosul to Iraq, though it hastens to add that the town will in the long run fall into the hands of the Turks.

Mr. Thomas on the Mosul Situation.

THE Lord Mayor gave a dinner at the Mansion House on October 14, to meet the administrative staff and overseas representatives at the British Empire Exhibition.

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Secretary for the Colonies) proposing the toast "The Overseas Representatives of the British Empire Exhibition," after referring to the exhibition, said, "I observe this morning two tendencies that I would deplore. It is perfectly true that we are in the midst of a General Election. It is perfectly true that the fortunes of the Government are in the balance, but it cannot be too strongly emphasised, not for the benefit of those present, nor for the benefit of our own people, but for the benefit of the foreigner, that although there is a General Election taking place, and although there is a political party disturbance, His Majesty's Government still continues, and the influence, the prestige and the determination not only to carry on the King's Government but to maintain to the outsider and the foreigner that prestige of this country remains unimpaired. (Cheers). I say that because of the disturbing news that I saw this morning with regard to the Iraq situation. I can quite understand people misunderstanding the situation. I can quite understand the foreigner assuming, when he reads our Press, that the country must be upside down, but I want to make it clear to him and the world that in the defence, the maintenance and the preservation of the rights, the privileges, the obligations of this Empire, no general election and no party difference will allow those who are charged with the responsibility of Government to be unmindful of their obligations, and that in that they will receive the united support of every class of the community. (Cheers).

"I am quite sure that this audience do not require that principle emphasised, but I am emphasising it because there was this morning a delicate and grave situation arising in Iraq. Events had occurred and incidents had taken place which, to put it no higher, was very disturbing to His Majesty's Government. I do not know whether the political situations that I have referred to were in themselves responsible for the incident, but, if they were, I only hope that the reference I have now made, not only on behalf of the Government, but on behalf of the people of this country, will not be misunderstood. Whether those circumstances influenced the situation I do not know. If they did, I trust they will be no longer a factor. At all events, I am happy to say to you, and to the country, that, so far as we are concerned, there is no step that we can take that will not be taken to avert war. (Cheers) But equally the honour and the prestige of this country is at stake. We will do nothing that would precipitate war. We will say nothing that would render the possibility of peace more difficult; and I have issued to night, in the name of His Majesty's Government, a *communiqué* that indicates that the difference between ourselves and Turkey may be a difference of words. If that is so, nothing would warrant a war on such an issue. If that be the fact the country will be delighted to know that the Turkish Government and ourselves, having had a difference of opinion, having differed in our interpretation of certain words, have agreed jointly to refer that difference to the arbitrament of an independent tribunal. (Cheers).

"I am delighted to make that announcement. It represents the view, the desire, and the aspiration of our people, who, above all desire peace, but in desiring peace we also desire to make it perfectly clear that it is a peace with honour, that it is a peace that sacrifices no word or no pledge to which this great Empire has been committed. (Cheers) It is in that spirit that we discuss the situation to-day, and I hope it is in that spirit that it will be accepted." (Cheers).

A Turkish Protest.

"It would be a great mistake to imagine that Turkey is humbugging over the Mosul question," was one of the phrases in an *expose*

of the Turkish attitude given on October, 14, to a representative of *The Daily Telegraph* by one who is eminently qualified to put forward the view of that country. A considerable part of his statement consisted of an elaboration of the proposition that Mosul is absolutely essential to the national life of Turkey.

The Kurds and Turks who form the population of Mosul (he said) have no affinity with the Arabs, and they resent as much as the Turkish Government does the attempt to fuse them into the mandated area of Iraq. The good faith and the fairness of Turkey in the matter are proved by her desire to have a plebiscite of the inhabitants—a method of ascertaining popular wishes which should, one would have thought, commended itself to Great Britain and to the League of Nations.

It remains to be seen what will come of the investigation which, at the instance of the League, is to be carried out on the spot; but every Turk knows well enough—as do the British authorities—that the people of Mosul desire to become part of Turkey. Persistence in a refusal to recognise this and to accede to their wishes will inevitably create what might be called—to draw a roughly approximate analogy—an Alsace-Lorraine problem which would be the cause of exceedingly grave troubles in the future.

Stress was laid on what was called the unfortunate impression created in Turkey and among the people resident in the territories which form the theatre of the present agitations by the last British Note provocative of the Turkish reply, against the terms of which as it was put, "such an extraordinary outburst has been raised in the Press of this country."

Could England be so mad (it was asked) as to make war over a small strip of territory such as that in question? And is there any one so foolish in this country as to imagine that Turkey wishes to go to war? The whole thing is ridiculous, and it passes my comprehension why or how such violent and unjustifiable attacks have been made in *The Daily Telegraph* and other British papers over an affair which, while it is really of no consequence whatever to Great Britain, is so vital to the Turkish nation. As is stated in our reply to the British "ultimatum," Turkey has acted openly in her intention to punish the Assyrians who captured Halil Rifaat Bey, the Turkish vali of Hakkari. These measures were, indeed, announced to both the British Government and the League of Nations, and it is monstrous and intolerable that our acts in that internal matter should have been qualified by the abusive terms applied to them in this country.

There has (this authority continued) been no "concentration" of Turkish troops such as the British public have been led to believe has taken place, and those that were employed to punish the Nestorian bandits have been moved to the rear—that, in fact, took place more than a week ago. Turkey has committed no violation of frontier such as has been imputed to her, but there is abundant evidence that that organised Nestorian bands have been incited to penetrate the frontier since the signing of the Lausanne Treaty. Nor can one lose sight of the role that has been played throughout the trouble by British bombing planes, the operations of which have undoubtedly encouraged the bandits to acts of lawlessness and violence.

Mosul (it was reported in conclusion) is an integral part of Turkish territory, its population is Turkish, and the point not to be lost sight of at the present juncture—for its importance cannot be exaggerated—is that Turkey can never renounce her right to Mosul. No Turkish Government dare renounce it—it would be overturned the moment it suggested doing so.—*Daily Telegraph*.



Britain and Egypt.

The Foreign Office issued last night the following despatch from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary) to his Majesty's High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan respecting the position of his Majesty's Government in regard to Egypt and the Sudan:—

Foreign Office, October 7, 1924.

My Lord,—In the course of my conversations with the Egyptian Prime Minister his Excellency explained to me the modifications in the *status quo* in Egypt on which he felt bound to insist. If I have correctly understood him they were as follows:—

(a) The withdrawal of all British forces from Egyptian territory.
(b) The withdrawal of the financial and judicial advisers.
(c) The disappearance of all British control over the Egyptian Government, notably in connection with foreign relations, which Zaghul Pasha claimed were hampered by the notification of his Majesty's Government to foreign Powers on the 15th March, 1922, that they would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another Power.

(d) The abandonment by his Majesty's Government of their claim to protect foreigners and minorities in Egypt.

(e) The abandonment by his Majesty's Government of their claim to share in any way in protecting the Suez Canal.

ANTI-BRITISH.

As regards the Sudan, I drew attention to certain statements which his Excellency had made as President of the Council of Ministers before the Egyptian Parliament during the course of the summer. On the 17th May, according to my information, Zaghul Pasha stated that the fact that a foreign officer was Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army and the retention in that army of British officers were inconsistent with the dignity of independent Egypt. The expression of such sentiments in an official pronouncement by the responsible head of the Egyptian Government has obviously placed not only Sir Lee Stack as Sirdar but all British officers attached to the Egyptian army in a difficult position.

I also had in mind that in June Zaghul Pasha was reported to have claimed for Egypt complete rights of ownership over the Sudan, and characterised the British Government as usurpers.

His Excellency observed that in making the above statements he was merely voicing the opinion not only of the Egyptian Parliament but of the Egyptian nation, and I gathered that he still adhered to that position. Such statements, however, must inevitably have affected the minds of Egyptians employed in the Sudan and of the Sudanese personnel of the Egyptian army. They have, indeed, made it appear that loyalty to the Egyptian Government is something different from and inconsistent with loyalty to the existing administration of the Sudan. As a result, not only has there been an entire change in the spirit of Anglo-Egyptian co-operation which has in the past prevailed in the Sudan, but also Egyptian subjects serving under the Sudan Government have been encouraged to regard themselves as propagandists of the Egyptian Government's views with results that, if persisted in in the absence of any agreement, would render their presence in the Sudan under the existing regime a source of danger to public order.

I promised in the course of our first conversation to be perfectly frank with his Excellency. Then, and subsequently, I left him under no illusion as to the position which his Majesty's Government are compelled to take up in regard to Egypt and the Sudan. Your Lordships will recall that when his Majesty's Government withdrew the British protectorate over Egypt in 1922 they reserved certain matters for eventual settlement by agreement. Though I have by no means abandoned hope that on further consideration the basis of an agreement acceptable to both countries can be found, the attitude adopted by Zaghul Pasha has rendered such agreement impossible for the present.

THE CANAL IN 1914.

I raised the question of the Canal straight away because its security is of vital interest to us both in peace and in war. It is no

less true to-day than in 1922 that the security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt remain a vital British interest and that absolute certainty that the Suez Canal will remain open in peace as well as in war for the free passage of British ships is the foundation on which the entire defensive strategy of the British Empire rests. The 1888 Convention for the free navigation of the Canal was an instrument devised to secure that object. Its ineffectiveness for this purpose was demonstrated in 1914, when Great Britain herself had to take steps to ensure that the Canal would remain open. No British Government in the light of that experience can divest itself wholly, even in favour of an ally, of its interest in guarding such a vital link in British communications. Such a security must be a feature of any agreement come to between our two Governments, and I see no reason why accommodation is impossible, given good-will. The effective co-operation of Great Britain and Egypt in protecting those communications might, in my view, have been ensured by the conclusion of a treaty of close alliance. The presence of a British force in Egypt, provided for by such a treaty freely entered into by both parties on an equal footing, would in no way be incompatible with Egyptian independence, whilst it would be an indication of the specially close and intimate relations between the two countries and their determination to co-operate in a matter of vital concern to both.

It is not the wish of his Majesty's Government that this force should in any way interfere with the functions of the Egyptian Government or encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty, and I emphatically said so. It is not the intention of his Majesty's Government to assume any responsibility for the actions or conduct of the Egyptian Government or to attempt to control or direct the policy which that Government may see fit to adopt.

A WARNING ON THE SUDAN.

So far as my conversations with Zaghul Pasha turned on the question of the Sudan, they have only served to show his persistence in the attitude disclosed in his previous public utterances. I must adhere to the statements I made on the subject in the House of Commons. About that neither in Egypt nor in the Sudan should there be any doubt. If there is it will only lead to trouble.

In the meantime, the duty of preserving order in the Sudan rests, in fact, upon his Majesty's Government, and they will take every step necessary for this purpose. Since going there they have contracted heavy moral obligations by the creation of a good system of administration, they cannot allow that to be destroyed; they regard their responsibilities as a trust for the Sudan people. There can be no question of their abandoning the Sudan until their work is done.

His Majesty's Government have no desire to disturb existing arrangements, but they must point out how intolerable is a *status quo* which enables both military and civil officers and officials to conspire against civil order, and unless the *status quo* is accepted and loyally worked until such time as a new arrangement may be reached, the Sudan Government would fail in its duty were it to allow such conditions to continue.

His Majesty's Government have never failed to recognise that Egypt has certain material interests in the Sudan which must be guaranteed and safeguarded, these being chiefly concerned with her share of the Nile water and the satisfaction of any financial claims which she may have against the Sudan Government. His Majesty's Government have always been prepared to secure these interests in a way satisfactory to Egypt.

I have in the preceding paragraphs defined the position which his Majesty's Government are compelled to take up in regard to Egypt and the Sudan, and which I conceive it to be my duty to conserve unimpaired.—I am, &c.,

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

TETE A TETE



WE published last week a tell-tale extract from two provincial papers of England regarding the boundary dispute between Turkey and England which we had received by that week's English mail.

The mail that has come in this week shows that the Tory Press was boiling over with rage, and, no doubt, with an eye on the impending elections, displaying its characteristic Jingoism, while the Liberal Press was a good second. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had given an ultimatum to Turkey, whether against his will or not, it is difficult to say, and every journalist was spouting fire. The Turks, however, are not people to be so easily cowed down. They replied to the three Notes of Downing Street in a Note which has been with obviously inspired unanimity characterised by the fire-eaters of Fleet Street as "unsatisfactory but not unconciliatory," but which was not published in its entirety. The Turks were, however, wise enough to have addressed to the League of Nations also a counter-accusation against Britain. The *Daily Herald* shrewdly enough prepared the ground for the Labour Government's subsequent action. The "ultimatum" was pooh-poohed; the Turks were treated with refreshing novelty as a reasonable enough folk; and the journalistic and diplomatic stage was adroitly prepared for the play, "All's Well That Ends Well." This graceful curve of the Labour Government did not, however, deceive the *Times*, which pointed out the obvious change in Downing Street attitude after the display of dignity and firmness by Turkey. The copious extracts that we publish elsewhere on the subject from this week's mail papers will tell their own tale. A Turkish protest to which the *Daily Telegraph* has given publicity is an interesting document. Whatever one may think of the politics of that journal beloved of the "upper middle classes" that dwell in the "semi-detached villas" in London's Suburbia, it must be admitted that, unlike the *Times*, it is not unwilling to hear the other side. But far the most interesting thing is the speech of that tailor-made "statesman," the Right Hon J. H. Thomas, no longer Minister for the Colonies including mandated territories. Mr. Winston Churchill, himself who was once a Tory, then a Liberal, and is now once more a blue-blooded Tory could not have talked more portentously and more platitudinously.



THE dispute that had just arisen must not be confused with the question of the fate of the vilayet of Mosul. That matter is far more vital and will be decided at a later date. The present dispute concerned only the *status quo* which on the 30th September Lord Parmoor and Fethi Bey at Geneva agreed to respect pending the settlement of that question. The area in the present dispute was, it seems, only some twelve miles long and three miles deep. The interpretation of the *status quo* was disputed, and apparently there are more than two boundary-lines to confuse the issue before the Council of the League. The mail papers to hand have done little to remove the confusion. There is the boundary line fixed by the abortive Treaty of Sevres which, the *Daily Herald's* Diplomatic Correspondent tells us, the Turks appear to have claimed as the *status quo* frontier. That line was to be "the northern boundary of the vilayet of Mosul, modified so as to pass south of Amadia." The British claim makes the line go not only north of Amadia, but much farther north, passing just south of Julameek where the Turkish Vali resides, and including Chal where lives a Kurdish petty chief—in reality a bandit—from whom the Vali had come to collect tax or tribute, and Ashuta which the Turkish troops visited, and Hani, the village where the Vali was

captured by the Assyrian Christian rebels, and other portions of the Hakkari mountainous region. This territory, it is claimed by the British was in effective occupation of the British and should not have been visited by the Vali, nor by the Turkish punitive troops who had set out to punish the rebels, and who are alleged to have gone still farther south, though not south of Amadia. Nevertheless, the most southerly territory alleged to have been visited by the Turkish troops is admitted by the *Times* to be "held by the British only with a few police posts of native Iraqi Levies." The British claim is, therefore, inconsistent even with the frontier defined in the Treaty of Sevres, which was so hateful to Turkey and to the whole of the Islamic world, and also goes beyond the old frontier of the vilayet of Mosul. Turkey was observing the *status quo* on September 30, when both she and Britain agreed to respect it; but Britain maintains that this *status quo* was no other than that which existed on July 24, 1923 when the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. Reuter now tells us that Fethi Bey agreed that the *status quo* to be observed was that of July, 1923, but contended that the British claim went beyond the conditions then existing; that any localities occupied by the British since then ought to be immediately evacuated; and that Turkey was of opinion that the real frontier was that which was defined by the Treaty of Sevres. We cannot say whether Fethi Bey actually made such an admission about the *status quo*, and agreed with Lord Parmoor, specially as a later telegram of Reuter states that the solution of the problem of the *status quo* "will probably take the form of the frontier according to the *status quo* of the last meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva in September, with certain modifications, and that it is likely to be acceptable to both parties." A neutral Commission has now been appointed by the League to inquire into the Turco-Iraq frontier, and will consist of Count Paul Pelecki, former Hungarian Premier, M. Paulis, an ex-Colonel of the Belgian artillery, and M. Wirson, the Swedish Minister at Bukharest. The Commission will probably proceed to Mosul as early as possible. It was also stated that the British and the Turkish delegations have practically agreed as regards the temporary frontier and that both sides will evacuate any part of the territory so indicated by November 15.



IT now seems that the decision has been given about the *status quo* frontier, and that it has gone to a large extent against Britain, the Press which was talking about "Turkey's Outrage," and the Government of which, even under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, had sent an ultimatum to Turkey to withdraw her troops "by noon on Saturday." To cover British discomfiture, it was said that "the British, although they have given up administration of territory, have not evacuated anything. On the other hand, the Turks must evacuate some villages." To make the matter appear very light, it was even added that "there are only villages on either side of the line, and no place of any strategic importance." And yet it was for this that Britain, in the language of the protest of a Turk published by the *Daily Telegraph*, was about to go mad and engage in a war with Turkey! The Turks knew how to treat that threat of war, and now Sir Cecil Hurst, "after the announcement of the decision of the Council (of the League)," said on behalf of the British Government that "the decision would be loyally accepted, and he hoped it would ensure peace on the frontier." He further said that "the decision was not what the British Government liked or asked, but it was satisfactory in so far as it was workable and would ensure peace. The British would have to give up some of the areas, and the position for British was not very satisfactory in No Man's Land, the area of which was deserted, the inhabitants having fled to Iraq." But to hide the shame of yet another diplomatic defeat, Sir Cecil Hurst must needs add that "the decision had clearly left Britain in complete control of the whole vilayet of Mosul except a very small area in the north." That is precisely what the Turks who were scrupulously observing the *status quo* had agreed from the first day to leave for the present to the British, in expectation of getting all that back when the question of Mosul was finally settled. Lest it be thought that it is not the *status quo* frontier alone that has been settled, but the question of the vilayet of Mosul itself, and that the British are to retain it as part of mandated Iraq territory, we have only to cite Reuter's telegram that the neutral Commission which is to settle that vital matter "will be specifically informed that this provisional line bears no relation whatever to the final settlement." No; the Mosul question has yet to be decided against Britain, and we have every hope that it will be so decided.



THE treachery of Shareef Husain has at last been punished, but in the absence of direct news from the Hejaz the circumstances attending his dethronement and departure have hitherto remained unknown. News comes, however, from indirect sources now, and since

those from whom we derive our information are just those to assist whom Husain had betrayed his sovereign and his faith, and who had in turn helped him to the "throne" of the Hejaz, we may well believe it. But it is a cruel irony of fate that the first to desert and to deride him should be some of these very people. Now that no crown, however small, encircles his brows, the *Saturday Review* tells us *a propos* of his ambitions, which Britain had done everything to encourage, that "King Husain had a propensity for increasingly large sizes in crowns, and his assumption of the Khilafat and of the title of 'King of the Arab Countries' made him many enemies." Another writer, Mr. George Renwick, "Special Correspondent on the Red Sea" of Mr Lloyd George's organ the *Daily Chronicle*, informs us that contrary to what has been stated in some reports, Husain did not resign as a result of the refusal of Britain to intervene, but that he was in reality deposed by the "Elders" of Mecca. It also appears from an interview given by the Damascus representative of Ibn-i-Sa'ud, as we could well imagine, that an agreement exists between Ibn-i-Sa'ud and Imam Yahya, ruler of the Yemen, and the Idreasi ruler of Ascer. The Cairo correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* says that the secret "triple alliance" not only explains the neutrality observed by the other adjacent Arab States, but indicates that the Nejd's attack had long been prepared.

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WHEN the deposed monarch of the Hejaz left Mecca he travelled comfortably in the handsome motor-car recently presented to him by Signor Mussolini, the Italian Premier. But it was not this handsome car that attracted much attention. It was a far more commonplace accessory of the vehicle he was using in which considerable interest was evinced by the people. This was the petrol cans, about a dozen in number. Now there is nothing so extraordinary about Standard oil tins, even in such large numbers. What excited popular curiosity was their weight for we are told, they were extremely difficult to lift. Mr. Renwick learnt that in each of them there were no fewer than 20,000 golden pounds. But, of course, this was not his entire fortune, as we are explicitly told. Reuter's cable gave three million sterling as the figure of the fortune carried away by Husain in cash, and we are now told that "considerable amounts of money had been invested in Egypt and Palestine" previously. A very interesting and curious and no less significant fact is that "in the Hejaz the English pound has had a lower value than anywhere else in the world," and that 'at various times when King Husain was hard up for ready cash in the local currency, he parted with large amounts in English money for about half their value.' It was possible, says this writer, then to buy English pounds on the eastern side of the Red Sea for a little over the half sovereign and then sell them on the western side for nearly double the amount.

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THE most cruel part of the whole business was the "official departure" itself of the deposed "King of Arab Countries." Although it was in no way kept secret, "neither the people of Jeddah nor the refugees from Mecca itself showed the slightest interest in the event." "No countryman of the fallen monarch," writes the Correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, "cheered him as his car went to the dilapidated jetty, where not a bit of carpet was laid down for the Royal feet. No faithful supporters came to comfort the fleeing Majesty with a hope of an early return to the throne. Even the Government of King Ali, Husain's son and successor, was unrepresented, and so were all the foreign governments. The Council of Notables now sitting in Jeddah and the only real authority in the country held completely aloof. Never, indeed, has a king who failed been so utterly deserted in the end. Early in the morning the ex-King would see nobody save his Finance Minister and Mohamed Bey Taweel, President of the Council of Notables. Taweel is one of the ex-King's oldest friends. It was he who really brought about the Royal fall, but their friendship survived it. King Ali, who came to Jeddah during the night, did not go to bid his father farewell. Between six and seven this morning the Royal yacht sailed, followed by a second steamer with the ex-King's belongings. . . . Nearly all the neighbouring countries have

officially or unofficially rejected the ex-King's application for asylum." Well may we quote Ghaliib :—

*Nikaalna khald se Adam ka sunte ai the, lekhn
Bahut be abru ho kar tere kuche se ham nikle!*

(We had been hearing of Adam's departure from Eden, but we departed from thy quarter with much ignominy.)

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THE plight of King No. 2 seems to be no better. It is not true that he left Mecca of his own accord. The Plight of King No. 2. He fled to Jeddah just in time to avoid being completely surrounded and having his exit entirely barred. The forces of the Sultan of Nejd under the command of his son had worked their way around Mecca which was virtually besieged. It was then that Ali and his forces fell back from Mecca. This was the second phase of the struggle, and war was declared on the new monarch also with a dramatic gesture. Ali sent letters to the Sultan's chief representatives proposing negotiations. These letters were carried by four messengers. Three of them were arrested, and only one succeeded in making his escape. The letters were taken from them and—torn up! A great deal of uneasiness was caused in Jeddah by a report that 700 "volunteers" from Trans-Jordania had embarked at Akaba,—whither Husain had sailed—en route for Jeddah. It was Husain who was said to have arranged their coming. Mr. Renwick adds that "in reality they are none other than well-armed ruffians, who, if they are allowed to reach Jeddah, will most certainly indulge in orgies of bloodshed and destruction".

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THE writer from whom we have gathered so much interesting information says he had a conversation with Mohamed Taweel, President of the Council of Notables, who is the oldest friend Husain has, even though he discreetly arranged the latter's deposition. It is this gentleman who has been sending cables to the Central Khilafat Committee thrusting upon it the "singular responsibility" of all consequences if the victorious march of the Nejd forces was not put a stop to by the Mussalmans of India. Evidently Shaikh Mohamed Taweel did not rely solely upon India's response to his minatory appeals, for he asked Mr. Renwick to implore Great Britain to intervene in the interests of peace between her allies. "Surely," he said, "Great Britain has some responsibility for what has happened, and is happening. She put King Husain on the throne, and she cannot stand by idly now and see chaos break loose, with consequent hideous sufferings and heavy loss of life." "Well, there has been no chaos except such as is of Husain's or Ali's own making, and we have every reason to hope that the period of "hideous suffering and heavy loss of life" has come to an end with the reign of the Shareefian family in the Hejaz. But the possibility of intervention is not altogether non-existent. We do not like the looks of Mr. Philby's sudden arrival in Jeddah "in the quickest and quietest manner" on a cargo steamer to make his "voluntary and entirely unofficial" attempt to mediate. We have no doubt he was assured, as Reuter's telegram states, of "Amir Ali's co-operation before he left London." But that does not assure us that he was not assured of the co-operation of others as well "before he left London". The same cable which announces his arrival tells us that it is understood another contingent of 1,200 men from Akaba is due in the Hejaz within a few days to help Amir Ali to defend the city against the forces of Nejd. It is true it is also stated that "no enthusiasm for Ali is discernable in the Hejaz and even in Jeddah, and various Muslim authorities are pressing Ali to abandon his hopeless position." But that position becomes far from hopeless if the "former Adviser" to his brother of Trans-Jordania is going to meet and confer with Ibn-i-Sa'ud somewhere between Jeddah and his own capital Riyadh. We shall have to watch further developments, and the latest news that certain Mussalman Princes of India as well as the Grand Kazi of Egypt, the Shaikhs of Yemen, Koweit and Bahrein, the Prince of Muscat, who had been living at Dehra Dun, the Persian Ulama and the religious heads of Bagdad to a conference at the capital of Nejd to discuss the future of the administration of the Holy Places in the Hejaz. Muslim Indian Princes feel just as keenly as other Muslims about the inviolability of the sanctuaries and the necessity of strengthening the temporal power of Islam. But no one knows better than they themselves to what extent they are free agents. That soon after Mr. Philby's arrival Ibn-i-Sa'ud should give an assurance that Jeddah will not be occupied, and should invite from India only Muslim Princes to the conference which had been arranged between him and the Central Khilafat Committee, while the Government of India should refuse passports to the principal Khilafat workers, is not without its significance. Are these the first fruits of the Philby negotiations?

The Comrade.

Election Reflections.

THE storm over the *Workers' Weekly* and the withdrawal of the prosecution of its Editor, the crippled ex-serviceman Campbell, may have been, as "Tay-Pay," the "Father" of the House of Commons called it, a tempest in the tiniest of tea-cups. But the defeat of the Labour Government in Parliament, and soon after in the constituencies, the death and disappearance of the Liberal Party, and the beginning of a "stable" or "resolute" government in which it has resulted, have made it clear that the tiniest of tea-cups was only the storm-centre, and that we may now await the breaking in of the storm over the high seas.

Last week, when commenting upon the way in which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's government had behaved towards the Turks over the Mosul Muddle, we had had occasion to be reminded of Lord Loreburn's description of the Labour Party as the "Party with Ideals," and we had said: "Oh for a change to government by a party *without* them!" That change has come, and although in Tories as well there is a touch of sanctimoniousness, in dealing with them one generally knows with whom one is dealing. They leave you in no doubt about their interpretation of government, and while assuming that theirs is good government, and a very proper substitute for self-government, they make no secret of the fact that they rely for success upon what they themselves call "resolute government."

The first reflection suggested by the General Election that has given to Mr Baldwin such a huge and almost unprecedented majority is, that if through a foolish impulse he had made a mistake a year ago in rushing to the hustings over the issue of Protection, and had thereby reduced his party's strength in the House of Commons to ineffective proportions, he has now much more than made up for it, thanks to the mad impulse that made Mr. Asquith join hands with him in defeating Labour. For more reasons than one we rejoice at the return of the Tories to power, and one of them is that it tears away the veil that had for some time past kept reality hidden. When Labour had increased its strength in the House of Commons to 193, it was still in a minority of less than 2 to 4; but since it became the Government of Great Britain, many people thought that the "people" had at long last come into their own, and had taught the "governing classes" to know their place. However, Labour's strength in the country, that is in the constituencies after the post-war extension of franchise, was no better, for the aggregate votes cast for Labour were only four-and-a-half millions as against ten million votes cast for other parties. However much the small body of Communists in England may talk of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Englishman "dearly loves a lord," and when Emerson wrote that there is in every man an ultimate Tory, he was certainly writing something which may not have been true of other men, but which was certainly true of Englishmen. At any rate, for a considerable time to come we may safely say that Britain, and particularly England, has got a Government that consorts well with the character and inclinations of her people.

Another reflection suggested by the election is that the women of Britain in spite of their post-war franchise do not trust their own sex. This is not the case only in legislation and administration, for the same thing can be seen in the mistrust displayed by them in women-doctors, even in cases in which one would have thought that a woman would prefer a doctor of her own sex. Out of 41 candidates, only 4 women, including one Labourite, have succeeded, as compared with 8 last year, and the aggregate of votes cast for all the women candidates does not reach even half a million.

As regards the preferences of the various constituent parts of Great Britain, it may be said that little Wales is still disinclined to vote Conservative. Sixteen of the Welsh seats have gone to Labour as against 19 last year, and 10 to the Liberals as against 12, while the

Conservatives have won 9 seats this year as against 4. Scotland, which had only 13 Conservatives in the last Parliament, out of a total of 71, has now about as many Conservatives as members of all the other parties.

In England, London Boroughs have returned only as many Labour and Liberal M. P's. as Labour alone had last year, namely, 19 Labour and 3 Liberal, as against 22 Labour and 11 Liberal last year, while the Conservative M. P's. returned by the metropolis are now 40 as against 29. The universities have always been solidly Conservative, and the Liberal or Labour member from a university almost appears to be an anomaly.

England is, of course, overwhelmingly Tory, and only 87 Labour M. P's. have been returned from the whole of England outside the London Boroughs. Of these 87, as many as 53 come from English Boroughs, as against 50 last year, and while the Tories have improved their strength from 112 to 123, it is Liberals that have been routed out of the other English Boroughs, as out of London Boroughs and Scotland, the total number of seats retained by them in the former being only 15 as against 67. It goes without saying that North Ireland even more than the English Counties is almost totally Tory.

The total strength of Communists has not yet been revealed, but surprise is expressed that "a communist in a select suburban district like Streatham secured 3,304 votes." The success of Mr Saklatwala in North Battersea is nothing new, for he had gained it in the election of 1922 as well, and had only lost it last year. The only difference is that now he fought and won as a Communist against the official Labour candidate, while then he was himself the official candidate of the Labour Party. The Communist cloud is, however, no bigger than a man's hand to-day, and it will be rash to predict that it will ultimately overspread the English sky.

One of the anomalies of the electoral system of England which the Liberals point out is that, whereas Labourites and Liberals have secured less than 200 seats with the combined poll of eight and a half millions, the Conservatives get more than twice as many with less than 8 millions. Liberals are the biggest sufferers, for with the polls of 3 millions they have secured only 40 seats, while the Tories have secured more than ten times as many with only two and half times that total poll.

However, the reflection that is suggested most readily by the election is that Liberalism has been routed with a vengeance for having spitefully combined with Tories against Labour. Mr. Owen Seamen, the Editor of *Punch* wrote in mail week that even though he never had a very confident faith in the intelligence of the electorate, it must be even feebler than he supposed if they were going to swallow the indictment of Mr Asquith by Mr MacDonald, when he proposed to shift the blame of forcing an unpopular Election in England from his own shoulders on to those of the Liberal leader and his Tory allies. Referring to the Amendment of Sir John Simon, "O. S." writes: "All that Mr. Asquith did to the Government was to demand an Inquiry; it was not his fault that they preferred an Inquest."

We do not know whether Mr Asquith will see or much enjoy this joke, for the inquest that is now taking place is not on the corpse of the Labour Government so much as on the mutilated carcass of the Liberal Party. When the Tories tabled their motion of censure, the Liberal leader thought that his moment had arrived. Had he not always said, as "O. S." points out, that it rested with him to choose the precise moment for laying the Government out—meaning that he could count on the Conservative support, while they could not count on his. But what was his motive for defeating the Government? He could not have hoped that his party could benefit much by a General Election. The Editor of *Punch* thinks that his joy was not so much for a personal triumph; "it was rather the joy of a god in the act of dispensing doom!" He little knew, however, that it was his own doom and his party's that he was dispensing. But perhaps the doom was in reality dispensed by the man with a safe enough seat in Carnarvon Borough, who knew that Paisley thread was not over strong.

As if this was not enough, the Liberals entered into a bargain to stand aside in order to allow the Tories to have a straight fight with Labour so that it might not benefit at all from three-cornered contests. But in signing the pact at Bristol the Liberals were all unconsciously sealing their own fate. It was the Liberal vote in the 200 constituencies where there was no Liberal candidate that must have given to the Tories their majority of more than 200 over the combined strength of all the other parties. It is true that here and there a Conservative also stood aside to help a Liberal ally; but Labour was amply avenged when in Paisley itself, which had always been Liberal, Mr. Asquith was defeated by Mr. Rosslyn Mitchell by over two thousand votes. His daughter, Lady Bonham-Carter, who was his spiciest supporter in the bye-election of 1920, had announced that this decision would mean his disappearance from active politics. But he has since denied that he was retiring from public life, and he no more admits being "down hearted" than British soldiers after reverses sustained during the War at the hands of the Germans. For a second time in recent years he would remain out of Parliament, and stand again when a hopeful vacancy occurs.

In the meantime the debacle of Liberalism is complete, and resembles to-day even more than it did when Gladstone was beaten, the Retreat from Moscow, to which a cartoon of *Punch* had then likened it. Whoever in those days could have imagined that Manchester, the stronghold of Free Trade, would one day be without a single Liberal representative in Parliament? Liberalism, as to all intents and purposes dead and gone, and it deserved this fate. Lacking vitality and confidence in itself, it existed merely to cut short the existence of the Labour Government. Like the old woman with a hump on her back, as the oriental story goes, it did not apparently want that its own crooked back should be straightened, but desired that others should also share its deformity. In conspiring to kill Labour, it has itself committed political *harkari*. The question is what is now to be done with the corpse. The first clown in *Hamlet* was, indeed, very learned, and exercising the privilege of his class, puzzled the second clown by putting a clerical conundrum *a propos* of the burial of Ophelia, "Is she to be buried in Christian burial that wilfully seeks her own salvation?" The second clown thought she was, because "the crowner hath set on her and finds a Christian burial." But this was far too simple for his learned friend, who argued, like one of Mr. Asquith's own tribe of lawyers, about drowning in "self-defence" and the law of *se offendendo*, and came to the settled conclusion that "he that is not guilty of his own death shortens not his own life," which he held to be crowner's-quest-law. If this is correct, then Mr. Asquith and his party do not deserve to be given Christian burial, because instead of "wilfully seeking their own salvation," they have wilfully sought the destruction of others. The fact is that to all intents and purposes Liberalism, the practice of which was not always consistent with its professions, was half-killed when Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey as Liberal Imperialists began to dominate the party in spite of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and John Morley. But when Mr. Lloyd George turned Jingo and joined hands with the Tories, the party was all killed, and to-day we have only to read the burial service and bury it.



A Lesson for Labour and for India.

ONE of the results of the General Election, as Mr. Lansbury suggests, is that the three party system has ceased to exist. But has Labour nothing to learn from the Election? The fate of Liberalism and its own unexpected reverse must teach it a lesson. If it is not composed of rank hypocrites and humbugs, much of the life it led during the nine months of its tenure of office must have been wholly unnatural. Instead of living its life in its own way, it sought to please everybody but its own supporters and best friends. Who does not know the story of the potter who had a donkey between himself and his son, and who was criticised just the same whether he rode the donkey himself and made his child follow him on foot, or

made his child ride it and himself trudged along in his old age, weary and footsore? He was laughed at equally whether he overburdened the donkey by riding it along with his son, or led it, while both he and his son travelled on foot, or, finally, carried the donkey tied to a pole on his own shoulders and his son's.

Labour's attitude towards India and other Oriental countries such as Turkey and Egypt has differed little from the way in which Liberals and Tories have in turn treated them, and it is leaders follow the advice offered to it by Anglo-Indian journals of being more careful in their criticisms of the Conservative Government and less reckless in distributing promises in Opposition which cannot be redeemed in office, then Labour too would go the way of Liberalism "unwept, unhonoured and unsung." Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues knew only too well "our chaps out there," as Col. Wedgewood sarcastically called the "men on the spot" who rather than Buckingham Palace, Whitehall or St. Stephen's rule India. An English Civil Servant who was ten years ago a member of the Government of India had on one occasion written to an Indian correspondent about the brass hat element in the Indian Civil Service, and said that they had to realise what their *confessors* in England had realised, namely, that public servants were the servants of the public. Nevertheless, few people know how large a share the permanent officials in England too have in the governance of England. And if Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues did not know it when they went to occupy the Seats of the Mighty in Whitehall, they know it now after the reverses in the polling booths of England sustained largely on account of the action of the permanent officials with regard to the letter attributed to M. Zinovieff.

Mr. MacDonald wants to know how a certain London newspaper, which was no other than the *Daily Mail*, and which in his own words was priding itself on having forced the Government's hands, came to have a document which, as Mr. Thomas says, belonged to the King, and how the Conservative headquarters, which for days had been talking of springing a mine under the Government's feet, became possessed of it. And although he does not say so, he clearly suggests that he would also like to know, or rather, that he already knows it, how such a document came to be published by his office before any copy of it was shown to the members of his Cabinet, and why a draft of the protest addressed to the Russian Government with regard to it was published one night, when after having sent it back in an altered form he was expecting it to be returned to him with the proofs of authenticity. It is more than "rapidity of action, a business-like way of handling things and the Government's determination to stand no nonsense," which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald claims to be "conspicuous examples of the new way of conducting Foreign Affairs," that are suggested by his shrewd observation that "if the Foreign Office had been either in Tory or in Liberal hands, that letter would have taken weeks to get through the various sieves."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's committee appointed to examine the authenticity of Zinovieff's letter reports that since the original letter has not been produced, or seen by any Government department, and action has been taken on what is not claimed to be more than a copy, and since in the short time available the Committee finds it impossible to obtain evidence throwing further light on the matter, it is equally impossible for it to come to a positive conclusion. But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had clearly demonstrated that he suspected the letter to be a forgery, and suggested that it showed "the amount of scoundrel pests with which they were surrounded," and he had significantly added: "My experience had made it impossible for me not to be suspicious . . . As far as I know the letter may have originated anywhere." And then he had asked: "How can I, a simple honest-minded person, avoid the suspicion that the whole thing was a political plot—another gun-powder plot?" And yet when Mr. MacDonald's Government permitted the arrest and confinement without trial of no less simple honest-minded persons in India, he evidently ruled out the possibility that the amount of scoundrel pests with which we are surrounded was no less, and that in the

case of Indians also forged documents may have originated anywhere, and political plots and gun-powder plots were just as possible, if not more.

If Labour means to rule again, and rule for a longer period than nine months with the Liberal noose round its neck, it must recognise in practice that what is sauce for the British Labour goose is also sauce for the Indian Non-Co-operating gander. We are glad Mr. MacDonald knows that "people sometimes find that defeat is the finest thing that can happen to any party." But this can only be if the lesson of defeat is understood and taken to heart.

Now we come to the party that will be in power as well as in office. If Reuter is to be believed, a financial and industrial as well as administrative and political millenium has been ushered in by the victory of Mr. Baldwin. The prospect of a stable Government, we are told, has had an exceedingly favourable effect on the Stock Exchange, and securities have shown appreciable advances. Government stocks have given the lead with long-dated or irredeemable securities foremost. Home Railway stocks have also been bought with considerable freedom as well as industrial shares. In commercial and industrial circles, too, we are assured, there is a general feeling of optimism, and world-conditions are now such that revival in international trade may be expected. We are also told that on the foreign exchange market there has been a sharp rise in the value of sterling, that the market has been anticipating a decisive Conservative victory for some weeks; and that sterling had been steadily rising in value. Improvement is not, however, confined to Britain, but, thanks to the reflected glory of an anticipated Tory victory in England, the currencies of her allies have also been improving of late, and most continental exchanges have moved in favour of sterling. In fact, the New Jerusalem is already more than half-built and a new heaven and a new earth are in process of being evolved out of the old.

These wonderful flights of journalistic oratory, if not imagination, leave us just as cold as when we read that haystacks are catching fire in England and iron bars and sheets are melting because the temperature has risen to 90 degrees in the shade, when to our knowledge nothing like this happens in India even in places like Sibi and Jacobabad which are fiery furnaces in the summer months. If, however, any of the symptoms marked by Reuter have been visible, there is still the possibility that other causes besides the "prospect of stable Government for a period of five years" may have contributed to so eminently a satisfactory result. Who does not remember Hotspur's retort to the description by Owen Glendower of striking and awesome portents noted at the time of his birth? "They may have happened just the same at the time of the year if only a cat had kittens and you had not been born!" Anglo India may display similar symptoms at "the prospect of stable Government for a period of five years," but Indo India is more likely to witness a repetition of the striking and awesome portents which the fellow-countryman of Mr. Lloyd George attributed to his birth.

And what are these awesome portents? In his Queen's Hall speech, the new Premier had already denounced "the nerveless and vacillating policy" of Lord Olivier, who could do nothing but tamely follow the "men on the spot." We have already been told that there can be "no concessions to unwarrantable agitation," and "no toleration for destructive methods." We have also been informed that "firm and definite policy will alone restore order." We have been promised that Mr. Baldwin and his party must see to it that they do their duty to those serving them here "in times of great anxiety and difficulty, those splendid servants, our Indian Civil Servants, Police and Engineers." As if any one could doubt it, Mr. Baldwin had added: "All of them suffer from economic hardships, and I am determined that due regard shall be given to their needs." We

knew that "that is in every country an essential thing if administrative contentment and efficiency are to be preserved," but we did not know that an addition to the emoluments of "those splendid servants" which are already so high was an equally essential thing for the preservation of their "integrity."

But when the elections were over, and victory was not only anticipated but realised, Mr. Ronald McNeill, ex-Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the course of his speech at Canterbury said that, "the Conservatives were determined to deal firmly with the forces of revolution in the Empire." Now comes the turn of Sir William Joynson Hicks who had once defeated Mr. Winston Churchill. Evidently both of the old rivals are in the running for office, and who knows that one or both of them may not go to the India Office as the Secretary and the Under-Secretary of State respectively. For a man, no matter what his politics, who has ever defeated Mr. Churchill, once rather a pushing and hustling tubalton on the polo fields of India, we confess we have a sneaking liking. But Sir William Joynson Hicks must not squander away the capital of goodwill he had built up as a successful opponent of Mr. Churchill by indulging in such twaddle as that of his recent after dinner speech. We know words are not always carefully weighed in Europe when a man has dined well. But platitudes like the need of a Government "which meant to govern," staled by usage into commonest commonplace, are not as exciting, nor as excellent as old wine, and if there is to be a rattling of the sabre, care should be taken that the sabre to be rattled is not too rusty.

Liberals, it is said, now roundly denounce Labourites for the responsibility for instituting a reign of unbridled reaction, which, in the words of the *Daily News*, "perhaps the solitary Liberal newspaper that did not favour the Tory-Liberal pact" will come when Mr. Baldwin establishes Imperial preference and inserts the wedge of Protection for selected industries, when Mr. Amery spends vast sums on fourteen new cruisers and for a naval base at Singapore; when the Lord's veto is restored, and when Mr. Churchill casts his adventurous eye on the world in order to devise blood and thunder schemes. We do not know where India comes in in all this description of "a reign of unbridled reaction," except perhaps in the blood and thunder schemes of Mr. Churchill of the adventurous eye. Nowhere is reaction likely to be more unbridled than in India, and yet India alone is not mentioned in the prognostications of the evil to come. Perhaps it is just as well, for reaction here may develop and increase: it cannot commence with the advent of the Tories.

To us it matters little who is in office in England and who is in Opposition. We too have got to learn a lesson from British political changes that are no changes for us. Man is man and master of his fate, and India alone can decide what is to be her destiny. If one is to be killed, what matters it if he meets his end at the hands of Rama or of Ravan. Neither Liberals nor Labourites have freed the three hundred and twenty million slaves of India. The Tories will deserve our thanks if they but awaken us to a sense of our slavery. Only nine months ago some compatriots of ours were sending cabled greetings to the Labour Cabinet on the accession of the Party to power. We do not know whether any cabled messages are even now contemplated. Perhaps not; but silence is not enough, nor is the detachment of a neutral in the national struggle before us of any good to anybody in the world. We would much rather believe that he who is not against us is for us. But in the days that are clearly coming it will be but practical wisdom to believe, and to let it be known to all concerned, that he who is not for us is against us.





Bengal Unlaw Criminal Amendment Bill.

BY MR. GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It.

IMITATING Rip Van Winkle, I have just awakened from dog-sleep of ten years, and having found previously taken oath of allegiance as Hon. Member of Council too brittle, at least in war-time, when everything, from Rheims Cathedral down to Allied pledger, had had to be broken, contemplate taking another oath, unless Reparation Commission or Dawes Plan can repair the old one. In those dear delightful days had disdained to enter Provincial Councils, except only once at Belvedere, where Baker, looking every inch a Lieutenant-Governor—though, *entre nous*, he had gone too many—used to preside. Mine was the task to chronicle doings of Imperial legislators only; of men like SANDOW II, the Strong Man from Bombay, and his successor SANDOW III, or Reggie of the Orange Province of Nagpur; of BOOTLAIR SAHEB and SIR GUY, of ORATOR MESTON and BABY BRUNYATE, also of Finance—who 'lipped in numbers,' of the MUSLIM DOWAGER—then the only Indian in an Executive Council of Eight, and thus receiver of the widow's eighth share in Government of India in accordance with Shariat—and of his non-official colleague from "sturdy little Behar," the Hon. LONGFELLOW, who was "the height of dignity" and possessed an "Eiffel-towering personality", of the MILD HINDU of Poona and his Muslim Colleagues, The BOMBAY DUCK and SIR FAZOLBHAI, of Trevyrdon Wynne of the Railway Board the RAILWAY SLEEPER whose snoring could be heard as far as Dalhousie Square, and the Advocate General who had to telephone to his legs in good time on the few occasions on which he had to stand on them and speak and of the FREE-LANCE of the Tiwanas, and the GURLY RAJA of Burdwan, labelled such by Kerr Hardie whom he had called a WHITE COOLIE, little knowing that another white coolie, in Bhai RAMJI MACDONALD of Congress fame, was one day to rule over the Empire to which he had eternally pledged his loyalty. Some, however, like the dear departed BHUPEN, sat in both Councils at Calcutta, being at once among the *dii majores* and the *dii minores*, and imitated SIR ALI BABA'S Simla ARCHDEACON, a man of two worlds, sharing chocolates and a little discreet scandal with MRS. LOLLIPOP here below, or rather up above on the hill-tops, and hoping to share hereafter eternal bliss with the angels and the archangels and all that company of cherubim and seraphim.

I having awakened at long last, went to Imperial Legislature, now dubbed "Assembly," but Delhi's doors were still closed, and Simla

had ended its work with the Silly Season. But to my rescue came Lytton, provincial governor of Bengal, though bearer of distinguished name associated with Imperial Assemblage and redolent with the fragrance of the flowery paths of poesy, which a Viceroy half a century ago trod in preference to Temple alleys and Threadneedle Street. Yes, Lytton, hearing that the sleeper had awakened, and expecting his return to his old legislative haunts, has sent for perusal and study, as prospective M. L. C. Draft Bill he is about to present, to Bengal Council—*minus* its Ministers. Being too democratic, cannot think of giving, like Basantbai, unstinted support to Sircar without first consulting millions of constituents, and so publish Draft Bill for opinion. Hope comments will be brief and couched in polite, printable language. The Bill must on no account be damned—with faint praise or without it. Here is the Draft:—

DRAFT OF BENGAL UNLAW CRIMINAL AMENDMENT BILL.

Whereas it is common knowledge that the Non-Co-operators are the enemies of unlaw and disorder, and the Swarajists, while doing only lip-service to Constructive Programme of the Mahatma, have vowed to destroy O'Dwyerarchy, Dyerarchy and Dyarchy by occupying the Seats of the Mighty in Assembly and Council, and whereas Ministers have been dismissed by representatives of the people of Bengal as unceremoniously as Sahebs dismiss Bearers, Khansamans and Khitmatgars and Mem Sahebs dismiss Ayas, and in consequence thereof the problem of unemployment has become as acute here as in England under a Labour Government, and whereas periodical increases in emoluments of Indian Civil Servants, who are neither Indian, nor Civil, nor Servants, have been turned down by Assembly for the wholly unsound reason that India is the poorest country, and the said Indian Civil Servants, or the reverse thereof, are the highest paid in the world, and consequently sound and permanent political progress cannot be accelerated except by accelerating the progressive increase of their emoluments and retarding the progressive decrease of their powers and privileges, and whereas all other means for dealing with Non-Co-operators have been exhausted—except good Government, which is no substitute for resolute Government, and whereas it is expedient, even though it is far from moral or legal, to amend the Bengal Criminal Unlaw, now therefore it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may or may not be called the Bengal Unlaw Criminal Amendment, Act 192 . [In case no Indian legislature passes it in the twenties, this Draft Bill may be read as providing another blank for the tens as well like the blank already provided for the units. If, however, in the year 1929, provided by unchanging Fate itself for all constitutional

changes, no change occurs, whether for better or for worse, and existing legislatures continue to make, unmake or refuse to make laws, this section must be read as if it provided blanks for the hundreds and the thousands as well. The Bill will then become law in due course in Greek Calenda.]

- (2) It extends to the whole of Bengal, and for purposes of his Act, but for no other purpose, it shall be a criminal offence to partition Bengal even if a Superior Purzon were to become the Greater White Mogul in Charles Street and to seek once more "the bery bibisection of Bengal."
2. In this Act, even if there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, "the Code," means the Code of Criminal Procedure and of every form, sort, kind or variety of uncivil procedure, and in fact every Code except the Code of Honour and the Code of Ethics.
3. (1) The Local Government or General Misgovernment may, will, shall and must by order in writing, or by visible representation, or palpable misrepresentation, or by word of mouth, or dumb show, or by mere feeling or volition, or by any other psychological or psychic process, direct or misdirect that any person, animal or thing, whether born, dead or yet to be born, or, like Ministerialist, Members wholly inanimate, accused of any offence, specified or unspecified, in the first or any other schedule, or of defence set up in court or council, in the press or on the public platform, shall be tried by Commissioners, Collectors, Deputy Collectors, Tahsildars, Mamlatdars, Naib-Tahsildars, Awwal Karukns, Qanungoes, Patwaries, Tolatis, Kulkarnis, Karnams, Kanakapillais, or other officials or non-officials not above the rank of toadies and tuft-hunters, or sycophants and slaves, appointed under this Act and disappointed by other acts, to wit, the refusal of the Assembly to increase their emoluments, the dismissal of Ministers by the Council, and non-appearance of their names when grade promotions and the Honours Lists are gazetted.
- (2) An order under sub-section (1) may be made in respect of any person, animal, thing and Indians *hoc genus omne* for any offence or defence as specified in sub-section (1), whether such offence was committed, or such defence was set up, before or after the commencement of this Act, and in any year, whether A. D. or B. C., and whether before or after Genesis.
4. (1) Commissioners Collectors, Deputy Collectors, in fact, the whole string down to Karnams and Kanakapillais, may be appointed for the whole of Bengal or any fraction thereof, decimal, vulgar or noble, or any part thereof lopped off, torn, wrenched, partitioned or Curzonified and still un-Hardinged.
- (2) All trials under this Act shall be held by three Commissioners, Collectors etc., as before, at least two of whom shall be persons who are serving and have from time immemorial served the interests of injustice, and the third shall be a person who is serving and has served for a similar period no interest except his own.
- 5 (1) Commissioners, Collectors, etc., as before, appointed and disappointed, also as before, may, will, shall and must take cognisance of offences and defences specified or unspecified, as before, ["Allah be praised for "as before" —Compositor, *Comrade Press*." "Hullo, what's this? Delete at once!— Proof Reader, *Comrade Press*." "Print it as it is; it will take too long to correct the form now— Printer, *Comrade Press*."] and shall follow any procedure prescribed or proscribed by any Code, and shall be bound not to adjourn any trial for any purpose save that of injustice, and death shall not entitle the accused or his heirs, successors, executors, administrators, assigns or next-of-kin to have the trial adjourned for his funeral, or for any other reason, including Doomsday.

(2) In the event of any difference of opinion among the Commissioners *et cetera* the opinion of the trying official or non-official, ordering immediate execution of the accused, whether before or after trial, shall prevail, and the other officials or non-officials shall be deemed to be guilty of the same offence and shall share the same fate as the accused.

6. The Commissioners, etc., may pass upon any person convicted or not convicted by them any sentence, authorised or unauthorised by law, including such inducements to make a confession of heresy, *probatto probatissima* or *vox vera*, as were offered by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and other *tortura, tormenta* and *quaestiones* such as "languishing fire," "burning pincers," "the wheel," *piene forte et dure*, the *equuleus* or the "rack," the *plumbatae* or "lead balls," the *ungulae* or "barbed hooks," the *lamina* or "hot plate," the *fidiculae* or "cord compressing the arm," the "Scavenger's Daughter" that compresses the victim into a ball, the "iron gauntlets" or "bilboes," the *Jungfernkuss*, the *puntale* or "piquet," the *canape* or "hempen cord" the "water and cord," the *strappado* or "pulley," the "hot brick," the *tablillas* or "thumb-screw and boots combined," the *mala mansio*, the cell called "Little Ease" and the "Cave of Roses" which was replete with reptiles.
7. The provisions of the Code, so far only as they are not inconsistent with the provision of, or the special procedure prescribed by or under this Act, and only so far as they are inconsistent with all other laws, human or divine, Shariat, Shastric, or Canon Law, shall apply to the proceedings of the Commissioners, etc.,
8. Commissioners, etc., trying an offence, or no offence, under this Act, may, with a view to obtaining the evidence of any person believed, thought, conceived, supposed, imagined, fancied, or entirely disbelieved to have been, to be, or about to be, or never to be directly or indirectly concerned in, or privy to the offence, or wholly unconcerned therein, tender a pardon to such person, on condition of his making a full detailed, incriminating and wholly untrue disclosure of the whole circumstances, within or without his knowledge, relating to the offence, and to every other person, concerned or unconcerned, whether as principal or abettor in the commission thereof, or his ascendent or descendent to the seventh generation, or a collateral seventeen degrees removed from him.
- (2) It shall be open to the Commissioners etc., in lieu of tendering pardon as aforesaid, to have the title of Khan Bahadur, Rai Bahadur, Rao Bahadur or Diwan Bahadur conferred on such person when the next Honour's List is published, provided that it shall be lawful to cancel and withdraw the honour thus conferred should it be proved to the satisfaction of the said Commissioners etc. that any particle of truth has strayed into the statement of such person.
- 9 (1) Any person convicted or acquitted on a trial held by Commissioners, etc. under this Act may appeal to the High Court, with a view to have his sentence enhanced, or have a sentence passed on him, as the case may be, and such appeal shall be disposed of by the said court in the manner in which appeals made against judgements in favour of the executive are disposed of.
- (2) When the Commissioners etc. pass sentence of death, and it has been duly executed, the proceedings shall be submitted to the High Court, and the sentence shall not be executed again unless it is confirmed by the said Court.
10. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Indian Evidence Act I of 1872, when the statement of any person has been

fabricated, cooked or concocted by any member of the police force, and recorded by any magistrate, such statement may be admitted in evidence in trial before the said Commissioners etc. if such person has been killed, hidden away or made incapable of giving evidence, and the said Commissioners are of opinion that such death, disappearance or incapacity has been caused in the interest of justice by officials or non-officials duly appointed for this purpose.

11. The Local Government may, by notification in the Local Official Gazette, or without any such notification, make or may make rules consistent or inconsistent with this Act, to provide for all, or any, or none of the matters that may conceivably or inconceivably arise.

12. Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable or unreasonable grounds, or none at all, for believing, imagining, fancying or disbelieving that any person (i) has acted, is acting, is about to act, or is capable of acting in contravention of any act, law, ordinance, regulation, rule, order, or unexpressed wish of Government, or (ii) has committed, is committing, is about to commit or is capable of committing any offence specified or unspecified in the second schedule, or (iii) has used, is using, is about to use or is capable of using force or violence, or threat of force or violence, in act, word or deed, as laid down in the Ahmedabad pledge, or (iv) has not condemned, is not condemning, is not about to condemn or is not capable of condemning anything done or intended to be done, or omitted or intended to be omitted by the late Gopi Nath Saha, the Local Government, if it is satisfied that such a person is a member of any association, club, society, family caste, tribe, profession, mercantile company, or trade guild which Government has declared or may declare to be wanting in love or affection for Government, so that it becomes thereby guilty of disaffection and of enmity, ill-will and all other forms of hostility towards Government, may order that such person (a) shall notify where he stands, sits, or lies, and shall notify any and every change of posture to every authority that may exist in the land; (b) shall report himself to the police every three seconds without interfering with the nightly slumber or the daily siesta of any policeman, which may last twenty-four hours every day; (c) shall conduct himself in such manner as may be so specified, including standing on his head and playing golf in that position, taking a dive in the Diamond Harbour and not appearing again on the surface for twelve consecutive hours, and walking five hours on the railway track of the E. I. R. at a pace not exceeding one mile per hour, while a mail train is in motion a hundred yards behind him travelling in the same direction at the speed of one mile per minute; (d) shall abstain from such acts as may be so specified, including sleeping, eating, drinking and breathing, (e) shall reside or remain in any place so specified, including the bed of the Hoogli or the bottom of a well; (f) shall not enter reside or remain in any area where there is air, earth or sky; (g) shall be committed to custody of any person, including the Angel of Death; provided that the Local Government shall not in any order under clause (e) specify an area outside the territorial jurisdiction of God without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

(2) The Local Government in its order under sub-section (1) may direct (a) the arrest without warrant, or, in fact, without rhyme or reason, of the person in respect of whom the order is made, wherever he may or may not

be found by any policeman, or other officer or non-official who may care to earn promotion or title; and (b) the search of any place in this or in the other world.

13. An order under sub-section (1) of section 12 shall be served on the person in respect of whom it is made in the usual manner provided for service of Government orders, including a slap and a kick; but in the case of a first offender it may be served only with swear-words and other expressions suggesting that the genealogy of the person on whom it is served goes back to some animal not particularly intelligent or clean.

14. (1) Any officer of Government desiring promotion, and any non-official coveting any honour may arrest with or without suspicion any person living within a radius of five hundred thousand miles of 148, Russa Road, Calcutta, on the ground that he is a person in respect of whom an order might lawfully be made under sub-section (1) of section 12.

(2) Any person exercising the power conferred by sub-section (1) may at the time of making the arrest, or before, or after it, search any place, and seize any property that attracts his fancy or cupidity.

15. The Local Government, and every officer of Government to whom any copy of any order made under section 12 has been directed by authority of the Local Government, and every person exercising the powers conferred by section 14, may use any and every means necessary to enforce the same, provided that in no case shall they be lawful, and in no case may violence be avoided.

16. Whoever being a person in respect of whom an order has been made under sub-section (1) of section 12 knowingly or unknowingly disobeys any direction in such order, provided it is a direction not in order, shall be punishable with such punishments as are specified in section 6; but in no case shall the punishment be less than rigorous death with imprisonment with hard labour, or simple slavery for a term which may extend to the age of Methuselah, and the person convicted shall also be liable to fine which may extend to the amount fixed by the Reparation Commission for recovery from Germany, provided that it is not paid in paper marks of Germany or in Russian roubles.

17. (1) Every person in respect of whom an order has been made under sub-section (1) of section 12 shall, if so directed by any officer or non-official authorised or unauthorised in this behalf, (a) permit himself to be spat upon, slapped or kicked; (b) allow his nose and ears to be pulled; (c) furnish such officer or non-official with specimens of his laughter, sneezing, snoring, coughing and crying.

(2) If any person fails to comply with, or attempts to avoid, any direction given in accordance with the provision of sub-section (1), he shall be punishable with partial paralysis and confinement to sick-bed which may extend to five hundred years, or with fine which may extend to the figure of the Unnational Debt of India or with both.

18. (1) Within one geological period from the date of the issue of an order by the Government under sub-section (1) of Section 12 the Local Government shall place before two persons, who shall be either Sessions Judges or Additional, Subtractional, Multiplicational or Divisional Judges, and one of whom at least shall be his personal or political enemy, the immaterial facts and material fictions, in or out of its possession, on which the order may or may not have been based, together with any

materials relating to the case, or wholly irrelevant to it, which may or may not have subsequently come into its possession, and a statement of the allegations, if any, made against the person in respect of whom the order has been made, but not his answers to them; and the said judges may or may not consider the said immaterial facts and material fictions, and may or may not report to the Local Government whether or no there is in their opinion lawful or unlawful, and sufficient or insufficient cause for the order.

(2) On the receipt of the said report, if any, the Local Government shall consign the same to the waste-paper basket.

(3) Nothing in this section or out of it shall entitle any person against whom an order has been made under sub-section (1) of section 12 to appear or to act by pleader unless the said pleader is the *amicus curiae* thrust upon him by the said judges, and paid liberally from Secret Service Funds, and the proceedings and report of the said judges shall be as secret and confidential as the airy nothings whispered in *kala juggahs* on hill-tops, or the proceedings of the Star Chamber and other such British institutions of historic fame

19. The Local Government shall appoint such persons as it thinks wholly unfit to constitute Visiting Committees for the purpose of this Act, and shall by rules prescribe the manner in which the members of the said committees shall have their visiting cards dropped in the "Not at Home" boxes outside the quarters of the jailors in charge of jails where persons punished under any provision of of this Act may be languishing in durance vile, and such dropping of cards shall be deemed to be the only proper form of a visit of enquiry paid by such committees.

20. The Local Government may make to every person who is placed under restraint by reason of an order made under sub-section (1) of section 12 a decennial allowance for his support of such amount calculated to the seventh decimal place of a pie as, in the opinion of the Local Government, is a proper dying wage, which shall be paid at the end of the decennium or after death whichever is the longer period

21. With a view to the performance of the fundamental duty of the Government, which is to preserve security on which political advance and all the functions of a civilized social organism depend, this Act shall be deemed to indemnify in advance all persons for whatsoever they may have done to any person believed, thought, conceived, suspected imagined or fancied to be a Non-Co-operator or a Swarajist, and no suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against any person for anything which is done, in good faith or in bad, or intended to be done under this Act.

FIRST SCHEDULE.

Any offence under any of the following sections of the Indian Penal Code, or any other Code, namely, sections, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, ("Sir, there are no more figures left in the type-cases"—Compositor, *Comrade Press*. "Very well, we have done our best, just as the framers of the Bill have done their worst, and we can both console ourselves with the reflection that we have used everything that lay within our reach."—Printer, *Comrade Press*).

Petty Larceny.

(BY OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC)

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—William Morris.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.		PAGE
THE AGREEMENT ...	38	LEADING ARTICLES--	
A HISTORIC APPEAL ..	38	" Bi-Arman " ..	40
		The Agreement ..	31
THE AGREEMENT		OUR BOMBAY LETTER	12
A Historic Appeal ...	38	GUP	
The Prisoner of the Bosphorus ..	38	Of keys ..	43
" Not a Man, not a Gun " ..	38	Potty Larceny ..	45
The Work for Local Leaders ..	39	ADVERTISEMENTS ...	36-48
Hindu Advisers of Muslims ..	39		
Inadvisable Advice ..	39		

The Agreement.

BY MAHATMA GANDHI.

I thank God that He gave me strength to surrender to the Swarajists all that it was possible for me to surrender - much more than I or many friends had expected. I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Swarajists for their accommodation. I know that many do not put the same emphasis that I do on the constructive part of the programme. With many the stiffening of the franchise was the bitterest pill, and yet for the sake of unity and for the sake of the country they have yielded. All honour to them for so doing.

The agreement puts the Swarajists on a par with the No-Changers. It was inevitable if voting and all it means was to be avoided. Non-Violence means utmost accommodation compatible with one's principles. Swarajists claim to be a growing body. That they have made an impression on the Government cannot be gainsaid. Opinions may differ as to its value, but it is not possible to question the fact itself. They have shown determination, grit, discipline and cohesion, and have not feared to carry their policy to the point of defiance. Once again the desirability of entering the Councils, and it must be admitted that they have introduced a new spirit into the Indian legislatures.

That their very brilliance takes the nation's mind away from itself is to one like me regrettable; but so long as our ablest men continue to believe in Council entry, we must make the best of the legislatures. Though an uncompromising No-Changer, I must not only tolerate their attitude and work with them, but I must even strengthen them wherever I can.

If they will not decide matters of important differences by means of the vote, the No-Changers can carry on the Congress only by mutual consent and forbearance - unless not wishing to fight they will retire from Congress control altogether. It is recognised that neither party can do without the other. Both occupy an important position in the country. The Congress was weakened by the secession of the Liberals and the Besantites. The cleavage was inevitable because they were opposed to Non-Co-operation on principle. We must avoid further cleavage if it is at all possible. We must not lightly set up as principle mere matters of opinion and engage in pitched battles over them.

If the Non-Co-operation programme be suspended, as I feel it must be, it follows as a natural corollary that the Swaraj Party should have no odium attached to its activity. It is beside the purpose to say or examine what would have happened if Congressmen had never thought of the Councils. We have to take the situation as it stands to-day, and suit ourselves to it, or to make it suit us, if that is possible.

Lastly, the Bengal situation demanded that No-Changers gave the Swaraj Party the strongest support that it was in their power to give.

"But" said some of the No-Changers and others to me, "how can you subscribe to a document which says that the Government have really attacked the Swaraj Party and not the anarchists? Are you not unjust to the Government?" This attitude pleased me and flattered me. It pleased me to notice in my questioners a sincere desire to do justice to a Government they do not like. It flattered my pride in that my questioners expected from me exact judgment and fullest justice. I confessed to them that I had against the Government the greatest prejudice based on past experience, that the writings in the British and British-owned Indian Press had prepared me for an attack on the Swaraj Party, that it was the declared policy of the Government "to lop off tall poppies," and that whilst it was possible that among the arrested men may be some with anarchical tendencies, it was nevertheless a fact that the vast majority of them were Swarajists, and that if it was a fact, as the Government contended, that the anarchists were a large party, it was curious that the Government could find in the main only Swarajists to lay their hands upon. I told them further that if there was an extensive and active anarchical organisation, the

fiercest spirits were likely to be outside the Swaraj Party rather than inside it, that it is said that no arms were found by the police during their night search. Nothing that my questioners told me in reply shook my belief, and I am inclined to think that if I did not bring my questioners round to my belief, I at least convinced them that the burden lay upon the Government to show that they had no designs upon the Swaraj Party in Bengal.

But the proposed suspension does not affect the individual *pucca* Non-Co-operators. They are not only entitled to hold to their views, but would be very little worth if they gave up their personal Non-Co-operation. For instance, suspension of the Non-Co-operation programme does not mean for me recall of my medals or resumption of practice or sending my children to Government schools. Thus whilst suspension will leave a convinced Non-Co-operator free to retain his Non-Co-operation, for those who took up Non-Co-operation only as a policy and in obedience to the Congress call, it makes it open, if they like, to recall their Non-Co-operation without the slightest stigma attaching to their so doing. Further, suspension is agreed upon it is not open to any Congressman as such to preach Non-Co-operation as part of Congress policy or programme. On the other hand, it is open to him, if he so chooses, to dissuade people from taking up Non-Co-operation during the period of suspension.

Then there is the spinning franchise. I wanted much more-- Khaddar on all occasions, and spinning 2000 yards per month by all Congressmen, except in case of illness or like disability. This has been watered down to wearing Khaddar on political occasions, and spinning by deputy even for unwillingness. But here again it was not possible for me to insist up to the breaking point. In the first place the Maharashtra party had constitutional difficulty in agreeing to spinning or wearing Khaddar being part of the franchise at all; and, in the second place, the Swaraj Party as a body does not attach the same importance either to the wearing of Khaddar or to handspinning, it does not consider them to be indispensable as I do either for the attainment of Swaraj or for the exclusion of foreign cloth. It was therefore from their standpoint a tremendous concession their agreeing to make Khaddar and handspinning a part of the franchise even in the modified form. I therefore gratefully acknowledge the concession they have made for the sake of unity. Let those who are disposed to grumble at the modification remember, that it is a great advance to rise from the nominal four-anna-franchise to a tangible and effective franchise that requires every Congressman to testify his belief in the desirability of making India self-supporting so far as her clothing requirements are concerned, and that too by reviving the old Indian industry of handspinning, and then distributing wealth where it is most needed.

It has been urged that everybody will take advantage of the relaxation, and the idea of spinning as sacrifice will break down, and that the wearing of Khaddar will be confined only to political occasions and Congress business. I should be sorry if any such untoward results were to follow the modification. Those who fear such disaster seem to forget that spinning by every Congressman was as yet a mere idea of one man. He has now resigned himself to a modification of his proposal. Surely therefore the embodiment in the franchise of the idea even in a modified form is a distinct gain and must increase the number of wearers of Khaddar and voluntary spinners.

Moreover, it must be remembered that it is one thing to embody reforms in recommendatory or even obligatory resolutions, and it is totally another thing to make them part of franchise. Any test for franchise should have no vagueness about it and should be easily capable of being carried out. For inability to carry it out means disfranchisement. The wearing of Khaddar on all occasions and for all purposes may not be possible even for the best of us.

In practice, however, it will be found that the vast majority of us who can ill afford a variety of costumes will find it necessary to wear Khaddar on all occasions, if we have to wear it on all Congress occasions. For an ardent Congressman every occasion is a Congress occasion, and he or she would be an indifferent Congressman or Congress woman who has no Congress work during consecutive twenty-

four hours. We should have on our roll thousands of voters or original members. They cannot have many uniforms, nor can they have money to buy yarn spun by others. They must spin themselves and thus give at least half an hour's labour to the nation. And a Congress Volunteer who does not spin himself will be hard put to it to convince the candidate for Congress membership of the necessity of spinning. Everything must therefore rest on an honest and loyal working of the proposal.

The agreement is what it professes to be - a strong recommendation. I have signed it in my individual capacity. Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru have signed for the Swaraj Party. It, therefore, is a recommendation by the Swaraj Party and myself to all Congressmen and others for consideration and adoption. I want it to be considered on merits. I would urge every one to eliminate me from consideration. Unless the recommendation is accepted on merits, it will be difficult either to achieve the political unity we want, and should have, or to secure the exclusion of foreign cloth, which we must have, and which is possible only by universal use of Khaddar. If the proposals to suspend Non-Co-operation or to give the Swaraj Party adequate hearty recognition in the Congress or to make the wearing of Khaddar and handspinning, whether personally or by deputy, part of the franchise do not commend themselves to the Congressmen and the others who are invited, they should reject them and unhesitatingly press their own solution on the attention of the nation. Deep cherished convictions cannot, and must not, be set aside for any consideration whatsoever.



A Historic Appeal.

(From the Indian Khilafat Delegation to the Khalifa)

B-ismi'llah-ir-Rahman-ir-Rahcem.

Hotel Regina,
Paris.

28th May, 1920, A. C

May it please Your Majesty,

The Indian Khilafat Delegation had the honour to address to Your Imperial Majesty on the 11th May a telegram in which we had endeavoured to explain in brief the mission on which we had come to Europe on behalf of the 70 million Mussalmans of India and the 250 millions of our compatriots of other creeds, the nature of the claims that we had been charged to advocate in connection with the Khilafat and the Turkish settlement, and the state of feelings in India and the East generally respecting the same. We had also ventured to express the hope that Your Majesty and your noble and brave, but distracted and divided nation, would resolutely do your duty not only by Turkey but by Islam, and that the unity of Turkey would soon become a true reflex of the unity of Islam, which stood solidly by Your Majesty's side as it had never stood since the days of the earliest Khulafa.

To-day we beg leave to address Your Majesty in greater detail on some of the points briefly touched upon in that humble message, and the extreme gravity of the present situation for Islam is our only excuse for the importunity that may perhaps be detected in our repeated submissions. For this we confidently trust Your Majesty will extend to us your fatherly forgiveness.

After sending the telegram of the 11th May to Your Majesty, we had occasion to meet a prominent and thoroughly disinterested journalist here to whom we gave a copy of that message, and we think it would interest Your Majesty to know what he said to us even before he had read it.

He told us that if he were the Sultan of Turkey to-day, he would forget that he was the ruler of the Ottoman Empire and the head of the Ottoman nation, and only remember that he was the Successor of our Holy Prophet (on whom be God's peace and benedictions) and the Commander of the Faithful, and as such the Servant of the Holy Places and the mandatory of Allah for the Sanctuaries of,

Islam. He said he would like to appeal to-day not only to the Turks, much less only to the small body of people that are in Constantinople, but to the entire Moslem World without distinction of race and country and political sovereignty, and that he would appeal not so much to the brain as to the heart of Islam. If he were the Khalifa to-day, he said, he would make all Islam weep and pray to Allah and seek strength and support in the spiritual awakening thus effected, rather than waste his time and energies in futile negotiations with people sunk in gross materialism, to whom neither reason nor sentiment appeals when their immediate interests are concerned. In short, he would stand forth, as no previous Sultan of Turkey had stood forth, as the Champion of the Faith and the Vicegerent of Allah on earth, untrammelled by diplomatic conventions and political artificialities.

This friend of our cause did not know when he gave expression to these ideas that our own humble submissions to Your Majesty were directed to the same end. But having received confirmation of them from such an unexpected quarter, we now feel that we should repeat those submissions with as much emphasis as is compatible with our profound esteem and veneration for Your Majesty. Islam and not Turkey alone should be the object of our united defence. If the Turks too lay greater stress upon the obvious danger arising from the dismemberment of the temporal power of Islam, and its reduction to an extent imperilling its spiritual freedom, than they do upon the evils resulting from the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, which must be the natural concern of every Turk to-day, then, not only will the dismemberment of that Empire be prevented as the first fruit of our combined efforts, but Islam itself will be secured against the menace of strangulation and death which this infamous treaty, if signed, is expected to spell for it. If, on the contrary, greater emphasis is placed on the necessity of saving Thrace and Smyrna, or the Armenian Vilayet, then we fear even that result may not be achieved, while it may involve the surrender of larger claims and to a Mussalman infinitely more important principles. Not unoften in the affairs of mankind small things have proved the enemy of big things, and the reduction of one legitimate claim, in the hope of placating the adversary and inducing him to be more just and reasonable than he is inclined to be, has many a time produced results quite the contrary of those desired and expected.

The Khalifa is the repository of the sacred Traditions of our Prophet, and, as Your Majesty is aware, according to the most authentic reports, he commanded the Mussalmans on his death-bed not to permit or tolerate any sort or kind of non-Moslem control over any portion of the Jazzerat-ul-Arab which includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia as well as the region known to European geographers as the peninsula of Arabia. No Mussalman can therefore agree to the exercise of any control by mandatories of the powers in Syria, Palestine or Mesopotamia, and what no Mussalman can submit to consistently with his creed, the Successor of our Prophet can submit to still less. The Arabs themselves have protested against all mandates and protectorates in these regions, so that even the principle of self-determination cannot now be invoked with any success by our political adversaries. In fact, when we discussed this question with some representative Arabs, they readily admitted our well-established contention that, even if they were to determine otherwise, their self-determination in favour of non-Moslem mandates or any other form of control could not be binding on the Mussalmans of the world in clear defiance of the *shari'at* and that obviously the Jazzerat-ul-Arab is not the private property of the Arabs, any more than it is of the Turks, to give away or to retain, but the common heritage of Islam, and subject to the wardenship of the entire Moslem world as a divine trust.

We may mention here that we had clearly stated in our Address to the Viceroy in India that even if the Turks could be made to acquiesce in a settlement of this kind in contravention of the Prophet's death-bed injunction, it would remain as unacceptable as ever to every believing Mussalman.

Turkey cannot, therefore, undertake, consistently with the obligations imposed by Islam, to accept whatever decisions the Allied

Powers may be pleased to take with regard to Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, any more than she can accept them with regard to the Hejaz or any other portion of the peninsula of Arabia. Nor can Your Majesty renounce in their favour all the rights and titles that Turkey ever claimed over these territories, including those which belong to Your Majesty in virtue of the Khilafat, or undertake to recognise or conform to any and every measure which may be taken, now or hereafter, by the Allies in and concerning these regions. It is obvious that such demands can be accepted only if Your Majesty is prepared to renounce the Khilafat itself, and thus reverse the act of cession, after four long centuries, which enabled Your Majesty's great ancestor, Sultan Selim I, to be recognised by the Moslem world as Khalifat-ur-Rasul and Ameer-ul-Momineen.

We feel it our duty to submit that Indian Mussalmans, who have always accepted the rulers of the Ottoman Empire as Khulafa and Commanders of the Faithful without doubt or dispute, are as strong and unwavering supporters of Your Majesty's title to the Khilafat as of any of your long and distinguished predecessors, and that, while earnestly desirous of strengthening the bond which the Khilafat was designed to create and maintain, they will deplore as one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall Islam if anything was permitted to affect Your Majesty's title to it.

After the foregoing submissions, we need hardly trouble Your Majesty with any further appeal against the renunciation of Your Majesty's undisputed and indisputable jurisdiction over all Mussalmans irrespective of the consideration whether they are your own subjects or happen to be subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of another State. The renunciation of such jurisdiction is the direct renunciation of the Khilafat itself, and neither argument nor appeal is necessary to recommend the categorical and summary rejection of such an unconscionable demand from the Khalifa after innumerable protestations that the war would involve no religious question, and the Khilafat was a subject on which the Mussalmans alone were competent to take a decision.

We may, however, state that we have ventured to place the question of the Jazzerat-ul-Arab in the fore front of our humble submission not because we are unmindful of other equally unconscionable demands that have been made in the draft Treaty, but because it seemed to us just possible that the importance of the inviolability of the Khilafat might not always be kept in view in the present distracted condition of the ill-fated Turkish nation. But even if we had been inclined to ignore the legitimate requirements of the Turks as a nation, which we could not have done consistently with the claims of our Islamic Brotherhood, the needs of the Khilafat itself would have compelled us to offer, as we are prepared to do, every support to Turkey in her vigorous protests against the rest of the provisions of the Draft Treaty. They manifestly seek to deprive you, in spite of the most solemn and repeated pledges of the Allied Powers, of your homelands in Thrace and Asia Minor, they would place your capital at the mercy of your traditional foes, and even then subject it, and, in fact, Your Majesty also, to Allied control, they would rob you for all practical purposes of every kind of resource, financial as well as military, naval and aerial, and, in short, leave you no vestige of independence even as a sovereign State. It does not, however, seem necessary to go into these provisions at any further length, because they are and must be as unacceptable to every patriotic Turk as they are and must be to every believing Mussalman. The Khalifa to be a Khalifa must be independent, and must possess temporal power adequate in existing circumstances for the defence of the faith. But if this Treaty, or, in fact, any treaty like this, is signed, it is clear that Your Majesty will have neither independence nor temporal power left, and lacking these essential qualifications for the Khilafat, Your Majesty will soon cease to be recognised as Khalifa. Already some Arabs have been encouraged to question your title, though they themselves lack these essential qualifications, and cannot therefore be recognised as Khulafa. But the purpose of those who are opposed to the very existence of the Khilafat, which insists on what they consider to be divided allegiance, but which really demands allegiance to God before allegiance to any earthly Government, Moslem or non-Moslem, will be served all the better if so

Muslim ruler remains qualified for the office of Khalifa, and the Faithful are left without a Commander.

If, however, Your Majesty rejects this Treaty in your capacity as a Khalifa, for the obvious reason that its provisions are calculated to destroy the Khilafat and contravene the commandments of Islam, the Moslem World would *ipso facto* be bound to rally to Your Majesty's support, and assist you to the fullest extent of its power, in your efforts to retain your independence and temporal power adequate for the defence of its faith.

As we have already said in our telegram, everything depends upon the kind of response that Your Majesty makes to the iniquitous and impossible demands made in the name of the Allies, and we hope we may suggest without disrespect, that Your Majesty's decision will be the most momentous ever taken by a Sultan of Turkey since Sultan Selim of glorious memory became a Khalifa four hundred years ago. For on Your Majesty's decision will depend the continuance of the Khilafat in his line, and also the uninterrupted and undisputed succession to the Khilafat which has so long been maintained.

But if Your Majesty's decision is what we all confidently expect it to be, you may rest assured of our loyal and hearty support. We have already indicated in our telegram that we in India cannot be satisfied if our claim is reduced by a hair's breadth. We demand that Your Majesty must retain all the temporal power that was yours when hostilities broke out in November, 1914, and that the territorial *status quo ante bellum* must be restored. We also demand that Your Majesty must continue to be the Servant of the Holy Places as heretofore, and, finally that there must be no sort or kind of non-Moslem control in any portion of the Jazeerat-ul-Arab, which includes not only the peninsula of Arabia, but also Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. If these claims are not fully satisfied, it would be futile to expect peace and contentment in India, or the continuance of our undoubted loyalty which has been the mainstay of British rule throughout its history. In that event, the people of India, without distinction of creed and community, have decided to cease all co-operation with Government.

Mr. Gandhi, who had so valiantly and resolutely resisted the encroachments of the South African Government on the liberties of the Indians in that part of the Empire, and achieved such signal success without the use of any violence, is one of the chief leaders of the movement for the defence of the Khilafat in India, and he and other great Hindu leaders have agreed upon a programme of progressive cessation of co-operation, and the Mussalmans have decided to work this programme to the end.

The first stage is one that is calculated to bring moral pressure upon Government by the renunciation of titles and decorations conferred upon Indians by the Government, and by resignation of all honorary offices and membership of Legislative Councils. This has already begun, and some frank statements of the reasons for this step being taken have been sent to the Government. But it is clear that those who hunt for titles cannot be expected to join with true patriots in large numbers.

In the next stage, the civil employees of Government will resign their posts, and since most of the work is done by Indians themselves, this is bound to affect the policy of Government and at the very least make it inclined to be less hostile to Islam than it is to-day. In the third stage, the Army and the Police Force will resign, and if even then the hostility of the Government continues, the last stage will be reached, and people will refuse to pay the taxes.

In the event of the failure of this movement of progressive cessation of co-operation, the Mussalmans have reserved to themselves the right to take such further action as the law of Islam permits, and Government has been repeatedly informed that the only alternatives open to a Mussalman in such circumstances are Jihad and Hijrat.

But so exasperated are the Mussalmans that some members of the police force have already sent in their resignations, and have openly stated that they could no longer serve the Government to which they had been so loyal in the past without jeopardising their eternal salvation, and it may reasonably be inferred that the Mussalmans in the Army, when they see the sacrifices their brothers in civil life are making, will not place their loyalty to Government above their loyalty to God.

Another factor of great importance in the present situation is that some Mussalmans have already migrated from India, and we enclose for Your Majesty's information the speech of His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan in which he fully approves of our efforts for the Khilafat, and offers his support for the defence of the Khilafat, and promises to give asylum to all the Muhajireen from India. His Majesty's Foreign Minister, who is at the head of the Afghan Delegation carrying on negotiations with the Indian Government, had already announced this, and now his august master himself confirms that announcement in the most explicit manner. His Majesty is an undoubted Mujahid, whose support of the Khilafat can be fully relied upon, and from his speech it appears that the newly liberated Moslem States of Central Asia will also stand by him in such endeavour. Further, it may be pointed out that the disaffection and intransquillity among the tribes on the North-Western border of India, which have lasted much longer than on any previous occasion, and have absorbed the energies and efforts of an unprecedentedly large force, are due to a very large extent to the hostility of the Government towards the Khilafat. In short, there prevails in India and in neighbouring countries a state of feeling for the Khilafat and its preservation so intense and widespread as has never prevailed for any object for many centuries, and we may safely say that other Moslem lands such as Tunis, Algeria, Morocco and Egypt, and by no means excluding Arabia itself, will support the Khilafat no less in its defence of Islam. In these circumstances, we submit we were justified in assuring Your Majesty that Islam stood by your side as it had never stood since the last of the Khulafa-ir-Rashideen passed away.

The unfortunate neglect in the past of the duties imposed and the work demanded by the Khilafat has brought the Moslem world to its present deplorable condition, and if we in the present generation also will not make one last and combined effort to retrieve the situation, our children and our children's children will grow up only to curse us and our inglorious memory, and when we march out of our graves on the Day of Judgment to answer for our acts and our omissions, we shall not be able to face Allah and His Prophet whose great trust we shall have so ignominiously betrayed.

We cannot but deplore and condemn the separatist tendencies discernible in some parts of the Moslem World, which are undoubtedly subversive of the Brotherhood of Islam and in direct contravention of its teaching and its very spirit. But when we complain of this, we are told that the Turks have themselves to thank for this state of affairs, that their whole outlook at best is national, and that they care little for the Khilafat or for Islam. Non-Moslem critics of position and authority also have begun to ask what the Khalifa himself has done for the Khilafat during the last century or two. Of course, such complaints and criticisms are neither sincere nor disinterested, and besides exaggerating the errors of the past, and taking a wholly one-sided view of the matter, they disregard and altogether ignore the distractions of the Turks for so many generations, and show little appreciation of the courage and sacrifices of a noble and brave nation. Nevertheless, it is difficult to silence these critics, and it would be fatal not to confess even to ourselves such truth as there is in these complaints and criticism.

Certainly the Khilafat was always meant to be something higher and greater than any merely national sovereignty. And although it is absurd to suggest, as some of the most influential people in Allied Countries are suggesting, that the Khalifa is like the Pope who could be "Vaticanised", and that apparently

the Khalifa's sole function in life is to live in retirement like a monk, or an anchorite, mumbling his prayers and repeating his beads, it cannot be denied that in the last few generations at least the Khulafa have not asserted themselves as such, and have generally appeared before the world only as Sultans and Padshahs. They were undoubtedly expected to go on the pilgrimage to the Hejaz in person every two or three years, if not, annually, and to make of the Haj a universal Conference of the Islamic World in which its affairs could be discussed in accordance with the divine injunction "*wa shawirhum fi-l-amr*;" they were expected to interest themselves in the progress of Muslims in every country, and to assert themselves constantly in checking the abuses which were undermining the strength of Islam, and in promoting the welfare of the Moslems and the advancement of the Mission of Islam.

But all this is so obvious, and no one is likely to know it so well as Your Majesty yourself, who have inherited the awful consequences of the neglect of your predecessors. Our only object in referring to it is to explain that, because for centuries past the work of the Khilafat was done indifferently, the Mussalmans, who never neglected to remember the Khalifa in their prayers, failed nevertheless to come to his aid in the hour of his need, and made but a poor response to his call. They have, however, realised only too well now, after repeated misfortunes and humiliations, that things cannot be left as they are, and that the bonds of the Khilafat must be strengthened at all costs. Therefore, while, on the one hand, they confidently expect that Your Majesty will rise in this the gravest crisis of Islam to the full height of the Khulafa-ir-Rashideen, they are, on the other hand, themselves prepared also to obey Your Majesty implicitly and to make every sacrifice in obeying your call.

And it will not be out of place to submit that now as ever unity is the greatest need of Islam. Honest differences of opinion must always be tolerated. But only Your Majesty can teach the Mussalmans to-day that to make of one's opinions a fetish, and to be relentless in the pursuit of those who hold different opinions, even when a still more relentless enemy of both is in close pursuit of all without any distinction of persons and parties, is the greatest betrayal of Turkey and of Islam. The need of reuniting all Moslems, specially such as may be disposed to be divided by discord or distrust one from another, within the fold of the true Brotherhood of Islam, is in fact, now greater than ever before, and we fervently pray that Your Majesty may exert yourself in that behalf. And in particular, any misunderstandings that still remain and divide Arab from Turk should be carefully removed. In fact, this is the very moment when all sects and sections of Islam can be welded together, and we have no doubt that Your Majesty must have been deeply touched as are ourselves at the demonstration of the sympathy and support of our Shah brothers, who realise that the dismemberment of the Khilafat in the present circumstances means the dismemberment of Islam itself. As for the invaluable support given to us by our Hindu brethren, and in fact by all communities of India without any distinction, words fail us to express our appreciation of it, and the only way in which we can demonstrate our gratitude is to pray that we may not disgrace Islam when the time comes to make every sacrifice for the liberation of our Motherland. We have assured our compatriots that we can never think of the subjugation of India to any alien power, Moslem or non-Moslem, and that they will find us at their side in winning Indian autonomy.

We now ask forgiveness of Your Imperial Majesty for the length of this appeal, which is the result of the fullness of the heart and of the grave apprehensions to which every Moslem is a prey to-day. But before we close this humble representation, let us once more assure you, Sir, that you have lying at your feet to-day such vast stores of love and esteem, of affection and reverence as the greatest king in the world may well envy, and it is for you to accept them and make use of them, or spurn them and deem them of less value than the tiny doles of bare justice that may grudgingly be given to you by others with all the show of generous charity. If it had been possible for us to reach the Dar-us-Sa'adat and to touch Your Majesty's feet,

we would have begged and beseeched and implored you to make your choice not as the Padshah of Ottoman Turks but as the Captain of Allah's Army of the Moslems of every country and every colour, and as the Successor of the Chief of all Creation and the Last Prophet of God; and we feel certain that with our tears we would have won from you the only answer that patriotism and faith alike demand. But since that is not to be, we have chosen as our great Elchi one who must be even dearer to you than we, your spiritual children, for she is the flesh of your flesh and the bone of your bone. Much is lost of Islam, but its womanhood retains its pristine purity and the readiness to sympathise and suffer with every suffering soul. It is one of these noble women that we have chosen to appeal to Your Majesty in the name of your distant children whom common peril has drawn close to you. She will, we confidently trust, plead their cause as no mother or wife ever pleaded for a son or a husband whose life had been declared forfeit to the Padshah's stern justice, for she is to plead not for the life of a condemned criminal, but for the life of the Khilafat and of Islam. And we hereby charge her in the name of the Allah she worships and the Prophet she would please not to give up the advocacy of our cause till victory is won. May Allah give her the eloquence and the persuasion that bind a spell over human hearts and work miracles. May it be given to her to plead as she has never pleaded before, and to win a victory as woman never won in the whole history of the human race.

With every good wish for your Majesty, for Turkey and for Islam, and with the expression of our homage and devotion, we subscribe ourselves,

Your Majesty's dutiful and loving,

Children,

(Sd) MOHAMED ALI,

(Sd) SYUD HOSSAIN,

(Sd) SYED SULAIMAN NADWI; and

(Sd) ABUL KASIM

(of the Indian Khilafat Delegation.)

Anecdote.

When Earl French was in command of the cavalry at Canterbury, he chanced one day to meet a rather slouching young recruit.

"Tell me, my lad," said the Earl, "does this city belong to you?"

The military fledgeling saluted and blushing replied -

"No, sir."

"Never mind," said French, genially, "straighten yourself up, pull yourself together, and look as though it did."

A story is told of a well-known divine who was visiting a prison, when he came across a prisoner whose features were familiar to him.

"What brought you here, my poor fellow?" he asked.

"You married me to a woman a little while ago, sir," the prisoner replied, with a sigh.

"Ah, I see," said the parson. "And she was domineering and extravagant, and she drove you to desperate courses, eh?"

"No," said the prisoner, "my old woman turned up."

Dr. Reid, the celebrated medical writer, was requested by a lady of literary eminence to call at her house.

"Be sure you recollect the address," she said, as she quitted the room, "No. 1, Chesterfield Street."

"Madam," said the doctor, "I am too great an admirer of politeness not to remember Chesterfield, and, I fear, too selfish to forget Number One."

TETE A TETE



WE publish elsewhere a historic appeal made more than four years ago by the Indian Khilafat Delegation to Sultan Mohamed Waheed-ud-din, then Khalifa of Islam and Sultan of Turkey.

The Draft Treaty of Sevres had already been presented by the Allies to the Turkish Peace Delegation at Paris, and the Delegation was being pressed to accept it without delay. It had, however, to obtain the final opinion of its Government on the Treaty and on its own proposals with regard to it, and had asked for more time, which had been conceded very reluctantly, and in a very niggardly manner. The subsequent history of this Draft Treaty is well known and need not be repeated in any detail. Tewfik Pasha, the Head of this Delegation, who had been the Turkish Ambassador in London when war had broken out, and was a *persona grata* in British political circles because he was not a Young Turk, refused to be a party to the signing of this infamous treaty, and could not be induced by the Grand Vizier, Damad Farid Pasha, who had come in person to Paris, to remain any longer at the head of a Delegation required to sign it. Tewfik Pasha accordingly left Paris, and Rashid Bey, a member of his Delegation, who was believed to be more accommodating and more pliant, filled his place. Even then the Delegation could not be induced to sign the Treaty, and at last a fresh Delegation composed of persons pledged to sign was sent to Paris. When the Turkish gentleman who was in charge of the Islamic Information Bureau in Paris, established by His Highness the Aga Khan and others, and assisted by the Indian Khilafat Delegation, met one of the members of this traitorous Delegation, and asked for him for an interview in which he desired to discuss the provisions of the Draft Treaty, he was informed that the discussion could not take place until *after* the signature of the Treaty! The Treaty was accordingly signed in August, 1920, and we all know how the swords of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his valiant Anadols in three years of hard fighting and patient endurance scored out the worst of its provisions. The publication of the Indian Khilafat Delegation's appeal is not intended to recall old history, but to emphasise once more what Khilafat really means, how for centuries past its essential features were disregarded, and why it is still necessary to maintain it and to revive and reform it. A conference of the World of Islam is being called to-day for the settlement of the future government of the Hejaz, and no doubt this opportunity would be availed of by the representatives of various Muslim peoples and States that would gather together to confer with each other for a discussion the future of the Khilafat itself. We therefore propose to express our views on this momentous question in a series of articles in THE COMRADE. The letter that we publish to-day, apart from having a historic value, and being on that account of considerable interest to people, provides a good preface for this series. It has not seen the light of day before, because its publication would have involved the deposed Sultan and Khalifa, Mohamed VI, in trouble

with the British if, as was then believed probable, he had not shown this document to the agent of the British Government in Constantinople immediately on receipt of it.

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THE long telegram that had been addressed to Mohamed VI by the Indian Khilafat Delegation from Paris early in May, on the eve of the presentation of the Draft Treaty to Tewfik Pasha's Delegation, and to which reference is made in this letter, was never delivered to him at all and Mohamed Waheed-ud-din came to know of it only when an A. D. C. of his received a printed copy of it by post from a brother of his in Western Europe, after and it had also appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of London. It may as well be stated that when the Indian Khilafat Delegation complained to the Telegraph Department in Paris of the non-delivery of so important a telegram, and one that had cost the Delegation so much, it twitted the Secretary of the Delegation by recalling to him that it was *his own Government* that in the persons of General Milne and his agents had taken possession one fine morning of the Post and Telegraph Offices of Constantinople, and had in this case also withheld a telegram even though it was addressed to the Turkish sovereign himself. If Mohamed VI had not delivered to General Milne immediately on receipt of it the appeal which we publish to-day for the first time, its publication would certainly have gone against him. Then he was the Prisoner of the Bosphorus, but to-day he is a free man, well rid of all such cares and apprehensions, and even if he loses by this publication a pension secretly paid to him for past "services," he cannot again lose his throne!

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WE do not know what the new Government of Great Britain is going to do in Mesopotamia, but we have seen how the last one behaved in spite of its professions of pacificism in the past. We hope to reproduce in an early issue the views expressed by several influential organs of British public opinion and individual British politicians who help to form that opinion, clearly insisting on the withdrawal of the British from Mesopotamia, where British forces, even though they cost the British tax-payer so much, are insufficient for a war against the Turks over the Mosul question. As we have seen, that contingency was not so very remote only the other day. We are glad Mr. Baldwin's speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet suggests that his Government approves of the reference of the question regarding the *status quo* frontier to the League of Nations, rather than regrets war was not declared by Mr. MacDonald against Turkey after his ultimatum. Let us hope he is less eager to rattle the sabre than was his predecessor in office, though we confess fears still contend with hopes when one notes that that swarhbuckler, Mr. Winston Churchill, is so prominent a member of the new Cabinet. As we have said, we shall soon reproduce extracts from the British papers that favour a withdrawal from Iraq. But we think the following extract from the *Daily News*, a bitterly anti-Turk organ of Liberalism, will be read with interest. It says:— "Not long ago the voices of those speaking for Labour were heard saying in a land weary of war, 'Not a man, not a gun.' It was an ultimatum reflecting in a short, strong phrase the attitude of those who pay in peace and die in war towards a ridiculous conflict which this country wisely avoided. It is a phrase so applicable to the proper attitude of the Labour Party towards the dispute with the Turks in Iraq that we are surprised Mr. J. H. Thomas did not use it in his speech at the Mansion House on Tuesday night. He ought to have remembered that it had something to do with Turkey. The holding of Government office sometimes plays queer tricks with the memory, has indeed been known to change fixed principles. Remembrance of these facts may, perhaps, account for the statement of the Colonial Secretary, in which he made it clear

that he is prepared to endorse the use of British forces against the Turks, if it becomes necessary. 'Make no mistake,' said Mr. Thomas, 'the prestige of this country is at stake, and we are prepared for the responsibility. We desire peace, but it must be a peace with honour.' We have heard this before, and the sound of the guns following it. It seems almost unnecessary to say that we did not expect to witness this salute to a dangerous doctrine from any member of the Labour Party. Does Mr. Thomas really believe that this country will commit itself to any campaign against the Turks over such a miserable question as the Iraq frontier? If, as seems evident, the Colonial Secretary desires to play the strong man in this affair, and to impress us with his sincerity, he cannot do so by talking about the use of force to deal with a situation not far removed from a political farce. If he wants to play the hero, let his advice be to come out of the desert, instead of suggesting that it may be necessary to shed British blood in it. 'Not a man, not a gun' is the phrase to express our attitude towards any war with Turkey, with which country, as Mr. Thomas no doubt remembers, the name of Gallipoli is associated."



THE Unity Conference held at Delhi passed a number of very admirable resolutions, and, although we have yet to deal with the important question of exploitation, which is really at the bottom of most of the communal dissensions, we can prevent much mischief if we earnestly set about translating the resolutions of the Unity Conference into action. Already in several places trouble has been averted by a prompt reference of the questions in dispute to arbitration, but after the Unity Conference more than one of these references should have been unnecessary if the parties concerned had applied the principles laid down with great care in the resolutions of that Conference to their local disputes. We have, for instance, a dispute in Nagpur which should not have needed the intervention of three such prominent national workers as Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Syed Mahmud whom we can ill-spare for every local dispute of this kind. The Mussalmans of Nagpur should have noted that the Unity Conference Resolution on the subject tells all Mussalmans that they must not expect to stop Hindu music near or in front of mosques by force, whether it is physical or is the coercion or compulsion exercised by a local body, or by a law court or by Government through its legislature. They must therefore give up forthwith all attempts to stop Hindu music near or in front of mosques by any of the method specified in the resolution and it is the duty of the Mussalmans to advise the Mussalmans to accept the recommendation contained in the resolution. The Hindus, on the other hand, must endeavour to prove that the Mussalman can, in the words of the resolution, "rely upon the good sense of Hindus to respect their feelings," and "to accommodate them" with regard to "the performance of *Artili* or the playing of music by them during worship and on other occasions in their houses or temples or public places, if the house or temple or the place in question is situated in close proximity to a mosque." The Hindu members of the Unity Conference called upon their co-religionists "to avoid playing music before mosques in such a manner as to disturb congregational prayers," and it is now up to the local leaders to do the same. It is only when the Hindu or Muslim local leaders fail to do their duty that arbitration becomes necessary. A worse case than that of Nagpur is that of Nellore; but we trust that Sriji Konda Venkatapayya and Seth Yakub Hasan will soon put an end to this disgraceful dispute about Mohurram and Dasahra "tiger disguises." We earnestly appeal to the Mussalmans of Nellore to give up all claims that are unreasonable, and we have every hope that Hindu leaders will ask their co-religionists to insist less on the terms of the decree of a law court which they have obtained than on the exhibition of better sense by their Mussalman neighbours.



WE strongly recommend that leaders should confine their advice as far as possible to the members of their own community, for experience teaches us that it serves no purpose for the members of one community to rebuke the members of another community, and almost the same is true of advice offered by the leaders of one community to the members of another.

Hindu Advisers of Mussalmans. How often have we not seen little children living in the same quarter of a town playing together and then quarrelling over little things? Every boy rushes back to his own mother with a woeful tale of the wickedness of his playmates and, of course, an equally pathetic description of his own virtues. The wise mother uniformly decides against her own child, and rebukes him, and this is the way that peace is secured. But we have seen foolish mothers as well as wise ones. The foolish mother sheds motherly tears of deep anguish over her own young hopeful the moment he comes to her for sympathy and support, and going to the mother of the wicked boy who had been so unjust to her little angel, complains of him, and soon bursts out into abuse of those that have been responsible for the little rascal's un-bringing. This way lies discord and strife. We have heard more than we like of the failure of Muslim leaders to mark their disapproval of the wrong-doing of their co-religionists. We must frankly tell our Hindu friends that this can serve no purpose. Hardly had the Unity Conference closed when one of the professors from the Punjab gave expression to similar views. But we are not astonished at most things that happen in the Punjab. The United Provinces too has a bad enough record of disunion, and U. P. leaders have good reason to be careful. Let them reserve even their advice for members of their own community.



SRIJUT Prushotamdas Tandon is too careful a leader to express his views in a manner likely to offend Muslim susceptibilities, and if we invite his attention to a portion of his Presidential Address delivered at the U. P. Conference held at

Inadvisable Advice.

Gorakhpur we feel confident he will not take it amiss. This can indeed be said to-day of very few Hindus or Muslims, but since it can be said of him with perfect confidence we cite his case in order to invite the attention of other Hindu and Muslim leaders to the inadvisability of criticising or advising any community but their own. Mr. Tandon is reported to have mentioned that if Hindus feel keenly on the subject of cow-killing, "was it not worth while for Mussalmans to ponder that if twenty four crores of Hindus could live without beef, could not they do the same?" Turning to the Hindus he is reported to have said "if they thought Mussalmans did not care as much for the political salvation of India as Hindus, they ought to work more vigorously and zealously so that the Mussalmans would follow their example." We have purposely selected passages of the utmost moderation on which to hang our humble and friendly suggestion; but even these suffice for the purpose. The more the Hindus call upon the Mussalmans to give up cow-killing, the less is that consummation likely to result. It is not so easy a matter as Mr. Tandon thinks for Mussalmans to give up the eating of beef, nor is it by any means easy to convince them that Hindu sentiment on the subject, however strong, is also reasonable. Nevertheless every Mussalman must strive to reduce cow-killing out of respect for Hindu feelings. But the efforts of Muslim leaders in that direction will have a far better chance of success if it was not suggested by Hindu leaders, as is so often done, that Hindus care much more than Mussalmans do for the political salvation of India. At any rate the superiority of the Hindu community in this respect is more likely to be proved by the manner in which they respect Muslim feeling and accommodate the Mussalmans with regard to music before mosques while congregational prayer is going on than by pressing their demand for the total and immediate stoppage of cow-killing. That demand can and should be pressed by Mussalmans alone.



The Comrade.

'Bi-Amman.'

THE mother of the Ali Brothers who is generally known in India, and, in fact, in more Eastern countries than one, by the name of "Bi-Amman," is never referred to in that way by her own children. In many Muslim families in the United Provinces a mother is often curiously enough called "Bahu" (daughter-in-law) by her children, who have evidently imitated their grandmother or grandfather in this in their most imitative period of life. In many others she is called "Bhabhi," the persons imitated by the children in this case being their uncles and aunts whose sister-in-law she is. To her own children "Bi-Amman" is "Bahu," or more affectionately "Bawwa." The public which calls her "Bi-Amman" copied her grand-children who accompanied her on her extensive and continuous tours throughout the two years of her sons' last imprisonment.

She had become a widow at the age of twenty-eight when cholera had cut short her husband's life in 1880, and had to bring up her five sons and a daughter according to her own unaided judgment. Maulana Shaukat Ali was then a little over seven years old, and his younger brother, the Benjamin of the family, was not yet two. Therefore, having both fathered and mothered her children, she has always taken the keenest interest in their public careers, which have been almost entirely influenced by her. She was always robust in health, except for an attack of pleurisy more than fifteen years ago, and the active life she led, albeit in the Zenana, had given her unusual strength for a woman. Ten years ago she could hardly be called even middle-aged; but the long internment of two of her sons during the war, ending in confinement as State Prisoners when war broke out with Afghanistan, aged her all too suddenly.

In 1921, when they were again arrested and tried at Karachi, she could hardly walk without assistance, and it was almost impossible for her to remain standing for more than a few minutes. But the Karachi Trial galvanized her, so to speak, and throwing off the veil, she appeared before the public and began to address vast audiences, being up on her feet all the time. Those who have seen her travelling very long distances, and being always up, whether it was night or day, to receive the crowds that came to have her *darshan* at every railway station, and being ready at the end of the journey to attend and address for hours together meeting after meeting until past midnight, have marvelled at her extraordinary vitality, and have been amazed at her being up again next morning before sunrise to offer the prayers she has never missed all her life.

Her journeys have brought hundreds of thousands of rupees to the Khilafat Fund, and her success so curiously affected Sir Malcolm Hailey, that once in attacking her sons in the Assembly, he said that the ladies of their family also collected subscriptions, and added: "That is my charge against them!" Well, it seems, that her journey's end is not far, and "the bourne from which no traveller returns" is not so distant. When her sons came out of prison they proposed that she should now rest and travel no more. But the Jazirat-ul Arab was still in non-Muslim hands, and India was still in bondage. In fact, the Congress split into Swarajists and No-Changers had greatly distressed her, and the Hindu-Muslim dimensions had made her sick. She refused in these circumstances to listen to any one who counselled that she should give up the public work she had taken up two years earlier, and she even chaffed Maulana Shaukat Ali

by suggesting that he was jealous of her success. It is certainly true that far more money was collected for the Khilafat when the Ali Brothers were in the prison than when they were out, and a number of popular songs such as the well-known one "*Jan, beta, khilafat pe dedo*" (Give your life, my son, for the Khilafat) had familiarised the people with their duty towards the Khilafat and towards India.

A year ago she had gone to Kathiawar to meet Maulana Shaukat Ali on his discharge from prison, and then to Bombay, Bijapur and Coconada. After the Congress she accompanied Maulana Shaukat Ali to Ceylon where her speeches greatly impressed the audience, Sinhalese and Christian as well as "Moor" or Muslim, in spite of the two or three linguistic media through which they had to pass before they could be understood by her audience. Even after this long journey she refused to rest, and accompanied her sons on their tour this year in the Eastern districts of the United Provinces.

When her grand-daughter Amina's end was near, she was still travelling with Maulana Shaukat Ali in Sindh, and returned only two days before her death. She had motored from a meeting in Meerut to Ghaziabad where she had caught a train for Aligarh. She had refused to cover herself up in the car and consequently caught a bad chill. But arriving after midnight she kept sitting on a cane stool near her dying grand daughter till the morning, and again on the following night until a late hour. When on the second night Amina asked for her towards dawn, her servant found her in high fever, and when Amina died next day, Bi-Amman was wholly unconscious.

Post-Script.

The end has come. A little after 2 A. M. on Thursday "Bi-Amman" passed away. God's will be done!

Inna li'llahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un

(We are for Allah and unto Him we return.)

A couple of days later she had to be removed along with Maulana Shaukat Ali to Dr. Ansari's house at Delhi where she was treated, and although she went back somewhat improved to Rampur in April, she had not certainly recovered. Her sons were alarmed at the news that her condition had become grave at Mussoori, but she wired to them not to suspend their Khilafat work at Delhi and their Congress work at Ahmedabad last June. They saw her at Mussoori early in July, and found her exceedingly weak. She

did not, however, stay there very long. She yearned to go back to Rampur as she feared her end was near. Not long after her arrival there her condition became critical.

How she insisted, while still in that condition, on seeing her sons at the railway station and on their taking her back with them to Delhi, is already well known. There was certainly an improvement in her condition after Dr. Ansari had taken the case in hand; but this did not continue, and her appetite and the quantity of nourishment she accepted continued to fail day by day. A week ago the very worst was apprehended, and Maulana Shaukat Ali was asked by wire to come. He is now here, and although she recognised him and others on two mornings since his arrival, she has been practically unconscious for the last four days. On the day on which these lines are being written she has been wholly unconscious. Although her recovery is still being prayed for, all those near and dear to her await God's will with patience and with prayer. She had lived a most strenuous life even in the Zenana, where her household duties were performed with the utmost promptness and punctuality in spite of the fact that she devoted as much time to religious exercises as a recluse would do in a cave. But ever since she took up her sons' public work, she over-worked poor human nature even more pitilessly, and nature is now having its revenge.

It is in these circumstances that the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* have been resuscitated, and whatever happens, those connected with the production of these journals will always remember with a

glow of pride and satisfaction that when the old Comrade machines printed the first copy of the first forme, Bi-Amman insisted on being taken in a litter to the printing room of the Press and in distributing sweets just as she had done it twelve years ago when the Press was first established in Delhi. She was carried into the room and blessed the undertaking once more. When more than a week later the *Hamdard* came out she was unable to leave her bed. But she sent for the first printed copy and had the prayer with which it opened read out to her and asked that a copy should be sent to her every evening.

She had greatly regretted her absence from the Unity Conference, and used to make inquiries every day about the progress towards the unity in which she is so deeply interested. We know she would love to be present at the other Unity Conference that her son has invited, as the President of the Indian National Congress in order to meet at Bombay, to formulate plans for the future political work of India, and to decide how best to resist the repressive policy of the bureaucracy at bay. It is more than one can say where her body will be when the Conference meets, but her spirit will not be far distant from the place where the sons and daughters of India foregather to resolve how to win her freedom.

She has had the better of her sons inasmuch as she knows the Hejaz at first hand, having gone to Mecca and Medina as a pilgrim some fifteen years ago. The journey, and even more than the journey, her emotions at the sight of the historic and sacred scenes in the early history of Islam, had told greatly upon her physique, and it was on her return from the Hejaz that the first signs of age became painfully visible. The future of these Holy Places and of the Khilafat is of absorbing interest to her, and even if her sons are not permitted to visit them and take part in the Conference that is to meet there shortly, no one can prevent her own prayers and her sons' for the triumph of Islam from reaching the Throne of Allah, nor her spirit from performing its pilgrimage when the body is still on the soil of India -- or perhaps in it?

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The Agreement.

In spite of only too many models of the other kind in the West, whence journalism has come to us, we do not believe in the journalism which seeks to make an automaton of the nation and to hypnotise it into the expression of a "public opinion" that is nothing but the opinion of a few individuals. They are too strong, through an unscrupulous use of their organising powers, for a disorganised public, and make and unmake "National" policies to suit their own interests and ambitions. That is why, instead of merely expressing our own views on the questions at issue, we have always preferred to place all the relevant facts before our readers, and scrupulously endeavoured to help them to form their own opinion.

It was, therefore, our intention to narrate in this issue concisely but adequately the history of the Non-Co-operation movement from the special Session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in September, 1920, down to the All-India Congress Committee meeting held at Ahmedabad in June, this year, with special reference to the questions of participation in the legislatures set up by Government and the production and use of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. It is our belief that a narration of this history, even though it is too recent to have been forgotten by any one interested in the political development of India, is necessary to bring home to us the significance of the struggle between Mahatma Gandhi and the Swaraj Party which has culminated in the "Agreement" issued over the signatures of the Mahatma and the two distinguished representatives of the Swarajists, Deshbhandu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru.

It was at Calcutta a little more than four years ago that, against the opposition of most of those who constitute the Swaraj Party, and particularly of Deshbhandu Das and a large number of Maharatti-speaking leaders, but with the valuable and vigorous assistance of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Congress had expressed the opinion that there could be no contentment in India without the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future was the establishment of Swaraj. More than that, the Congress had put it on record that there was no course left open for the people of India but to approve and adopt the policy of progressive Non-Violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi until these wrongs were righted and Swaraj was established. Among the items of Non-Co-operation sanctioned by the Calcutta Special Session to begin with, perhaps the most important was the "withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election." Hand-spinning and hand-weaving, on the other hand, did not then loom so large

on the National Programme. The "boycott of foreign goods" ranked among the items of Non-Co-operation then sanctioned, and it was almost as an ancillary measure that the production and use of *Khaddar* was included. The Congress advised "adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control did not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and were not likely to do so for a long time to come, the Congress advised immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who had abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement."

If, after recalling this we examine the "Agreement", we cannot fail to be struck by the contrast. The signatories recommend that the Congress should "suspend the programme of Non-Co-operation as the National Programme" which had been elaborated with such care and exactitude, and, on the contrary, the Congress, if the recommendations of the signatories are accepted, would not only no longer disapprove of "Council-entry," but would entrust it specifically to a section of the Congress "on behalf of the Congress as an integral part of the Congress organisation." On the other hand, "the refusal to use or wear cloth made out of India" is specifically excepted from the suspension of the National Programme of Non-Co-operation, and the spread of hand-spinning, hand-weaving and all the antecedent processes and the spread of hand-spun and hand-woven *Khaddar* is to be carried on "by all sections within the Congress," and, what is more, the use of *Khaddar* and the production of hand-spun yarn within certain limits and under certain conditions are recommended for adoption as the Congress franchise.

A persistent though peaceful struggle has gone on in the Congress during the last four years, and the battle has raged incessantly backwards and forwards between the points we have just indicated. Had we had more space at our disposal in this issue, we would have narrated the history of this struggle, and placed before our readers ample material which would have almost inevitably led them to come to the right conclusion for themselves without the necessity of any suggestions of our own.

But this narrative has, we regret, been crowded out, and we are reluctantly driven to offer our own suggestions for the consideration of our readers. A considerable political section of the nation has from the very beginning pinned its faith to "constitutional agitation" to be carried on in the legislatures, and it is the irony of fate that the bureaucracy, which of course, wants no agitation at all, whether constitutional or otherwise, and requires only a tame acquiescence in all it chooses to do or not to do that these "constitutional agitators" are confounded with believers in violence and anarchy. This section would enter the legislatures through any avenue open to them, even though they may be unable to do anything after having secured an entry, and then, apparently, wait on Providence, Micawber-like, for "something to turn up." It does not lack courage, like another section, which has always thought in terms of the Indian Penal Code. It has already filled many a gaol to overflowing, and is filling them once more. But it has not yet progressed beyond thinking in terms of Constitutional Law and has yet to learn to think in terms of History. It is not destructive in the sense in which Government pretends to regard it as such, but it is not constructive either, in the sense of Mahatma Gandhi and of every real nation-builder.

The Mahatma, on the other hand, thinks only in terms of History, though of a history which is not "repeating itself." He is not a destructive critic of an alien Government, but the maker of a nation which is to be the architect of its own future and of its own fate. He is not repeating the history of other nations that have built up national fabrics out of the debris of foreign governments, but, profiting from their sad and bitter experience of the use of violence -- the experience of those who had drawn the sword and had perished by the sword -- he is teaching the world how a non-violence not less courageous than violence, but even more so, can win a more effectual and a more decisive victory. The soldiers in his peaceful army are not to be recruited exclusively from experts in Law and adepts in constitutional agitation, but also, and in far larger numbers, from a peasantry that is to-day impoverished and enfeebled, but on which every section of India's politicians ultimately relies. The exclusive use of Indian cloth would close the main channel through which so much of India's wealth is being drained away, and stimulate Indian production, and the insistence on the use of *Khaddar* would distribute the wealth saved and the wealth produced, not among a few capitalists, but among the hundreds of millions of our impoverished peasants. Mahatma Gandhi has diagnosed the disease that is killing us, and has provided an incredibly simple remedy. We have been so used to a multiplicity of drugs, culled from a foreign pharmacopoeia, and preferably those that are not locally procurable, and therefore accuse of quackery the rediscoverer of the simple herb growing at our very doors that a provident Nature has made so suitable a remedy for our peculiar malady.

Mahatma Gandhi carried all before him at first, and, shaking off our slave mentality, we accepted the drug as well as the doctor. A Poona stalwart, to-day a die-hard patron of mill-made cloth, proclaimed three years ago that he would wear sacking rather than any other cloth but *Khaddar*.

Others too have found all constructive work irksome, and the *Charkha* particularly tame as compared with the piquant pastime of Council debating like "the lilies of the field," "they toil not, neither do they spin."

But the Mahatma whose action at Ahmedabad last June was ill-advised, has now realised that he cannot do without even these. The speed of the fleet is the speed of the slowest boat, and he cannot give the order: "Full Steam Ahead!" He has, therefore, made a compromise with them, and while they reluctantly accept a modified *Khaddar* franchise, and promise as honourable men to produce as well as use it, he asks the Congress to permit them to waste their time in the Councils. To succeed completely he must either convince them that Council work is practically a waste of so much valuable time, and that the use and production of *Khaddar* is the main work for the nation, or he must at least convince the country, of this so that he can go ahead without them. But so far he has succeeded in neither of those, and is reluctantly driven to make compromises and concessions.

This we think, was inevitable, and the only thing we have to judge is whether the compromise itself is good. We shall discuss the matter in our next issue, but we may as well state here that "unwillingness" is no proper excuse for not spinning if we mean to influence the masses by our example. This is bound to defeat the Mahatma's purpose. Surely when the Mahatma has so chivalrously offered unasked his assistance to the Swarajists in their hour of trial, it is anything but magnanimity on their part to procure 2000 yards of yarn spun by other hands to satisfy the franchise requirements, merely because they themselves are "unwilling." Little minds and great aims go ill together, and we trust the Swarajists will live with the Mahatma himself in large-heartedness.



Our Bombay Letter.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

YOUR old Correspondent was delighted to have a look at the good old *Comrade* again after ten years of absence. The office, probably with an eye for business, and in consideration of old relation, had sent me ten copies, and I was glad to get all of them. I barely an hour they had all disappeared, and there was a *Comrade* famine in Bombay.

There was once a good old saying here, and I had personally found it correct, that whenever you wanted any money for any national purpose, you were perfectly safe to go to Omar Sobani, and in his days of prosperity he would blushing give you whatsoever you wanted, with a strict injunction not to make any mention of his generosity to a soul. Similarly if you had a difficult problem and wanted some one to help you, or some one to befriend you then the best thing was to go to L. R. Triasee for you were sure to find in him the champion of any cause that was worthy, from a broken down actor to a vagabond political worker. He would give up his business and console, and come round and do your work, or have it done through influential people, of whom he has a large number on his visiting list. There is a well known rule in "W. L. S." and "Bridge": "When in doubt play trumps," and these two were your trump cards in Bombay. But that does not exhaust the list. If you had any cause no matter how difficult or forlorn, and you wanted a champion in the press, then there was Barjorji Framji Bharucha. Day in and day out in the *Bombay Chronicle* and all the English dailies and weeklies, with the good old Gurani papers thrown in, you will find twelve good reasons asking you to support the special cause under Mr. Bharucha's wing. I do not think any paper could refuse him, as he did not waste words, and was always so short and sweet. In fact, whenever you find in a paper in the correspondence columns something marked 1, 2, 3, 4 you may be sure to find at the end of it the familiar name of Barjorji Framji Bharucha.

Poor Omar Sobani! Thanks to the Government's special favour, he cannot be very lavish with his cheques now. Mr. Bharucha is somewhere in the Punjab selling Khadi, making speeches and coming out as a special correspondent of all the Bombay papers. He was not available, so I turned towards Mr. Tarsee who was the only one left, and showed him a copy of the *Comrade*. This he at once annexed, and then inquired why it had not been sent to him. "The management of the *Comrade* must be bad. Never mind I will send my money along with some from others soon." And then a suggestion that five hundreded copies of the *Comrade* ought to be sold in Bombay. Maulana Mohamed Ali is poor and a few subscribers from Bombay would be very useful.

I think I made very good use of the ten copies the Office * sent me. The *Comrade* used to be admired before for its pungent writing

but now the editor-proprietor is much better known and people are anxious to see how he writes to-day. They had a taste of his pen sometime last hot weather when Mr. Jinnah and he had a "go" at each other over the Muslim League. People in Bombay would not easily forget his second article which tore the redoubtable Mr. Jinnah to pieces. So let us hope Bombay will do the *Comrade* good, and bring some money to a quarter which badly needs it.

Just now this repression in Bengal has caused a ripple in the calm waters of the "Good Bay." A well attended meeting was held in the Marwari Vidyalaya where Mr. V. J. Patel presided, followed by another in the Mandvi ward where the energetic Mr. Maheshri is anxious to revive the old spirit of 1921. Another meeting was held at Santa Cruz under the presidency of Mr. J. K. Mehta attended by a large number of ladies also, and there was yet another at Bandra. Mr. V. J. Patel was in great demand as president and Maulana Shaukat Ali as speaker. Maulana Shaukat Ali's was the clearest pronouncement as he has clear views on the work before the country. He does not expect anything from the British Government, and so exhorted people to make a firm and final resolve to fight their best in the struggle. I hope Bombay will give a very good response at Belgaum where it is expected the whole of India will be united to make a firm stand.

It is extraordinary how things change so quickly. In 1916 when the great Lokmanya Tilak was alive he raised the situation in the country, and won the confidence of the Mussalmans by openly declaring that "you cannot give too much to the Mussalmans." This shut up the mouths of the beggars and mendicants in the Muslim community who were always vociferously shouting for boons from the English. It shamed them into adopting a more dignified position.

Now the tables are turned. Since the death of the great old man, some of his followers in the Maharashtra and the C. P. are nervous about losing their rank in politics and are anxious somehow or other to get into an advantageous position. Howsoever much they may rely on their jockeying to win the race for the Marathi-speaking people, and howsoever much they may by their obstructionist policy hamper the Congress and retard the work in the country, they will not enhance their reputation as true patriots. They have already lost their brothers and co-workers in the Karnatic, and many in Maharashtra itself, and their reputation has not improved in the country. From the very beginning they showed disbelief in Mahatma Gandhi and though the great Mahatma had always gone out of his way to reconcile them, they have only taken advantage of his generosity, but have never forgiven him for the defeats at the Calcutta Special Congress and at the Nagpur Congress. They came into the Non-Co-operation movement reluctantly, and they have very quickly gone out of it, taking a large body of men with them, and raising the flag of rebellion in the Congress. To-day, like *Oliver Twist*, they want more. Nothing appears to satisfy them short of joining the whole body of genuine Non-Co-operators. And Mahatma Gandhi only says, like Lokmanya Tilak in 1916, that you cannot give too much to this section of the people in the Maharashtra.

I do not think their attitude in Calcutta during the recent Swarajist meeting could have pleased the other All-India leaders. As for those who do not belong to that party, some of the immediate co-workers of Mahatma Gandhi may not be quite pleased with his generosity towards them; but I think he is right. The Mahatma is right not to lose even almost irreconcilable opponents, as India to-day needs no parties except two, the people's poor party *versus* the British Government with all its pomp and power.

Now let us forget the serious things in life. I wish I could be enthusiastic over the quadrangular cricket matches that will come early in December. The Hindu team as usual is the favourite, for besides old grants like Kankiya Naidu, Vithal, Deodhar and John, there are other new men who are shaping quite well. As for the Parsis, I have yet to make enquiries, and I shall let you know later on if there is any infusion of fresh blood. No cricket is possible unless fresh blood is coming in, and thus no team is weaker than the Mussalmans which can hardly count on any support from Bombay. Their best chance is that Prince Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal should come to their assistance with a strong contingent from Bhopal and Aligarh. But he has had terrible bereavements this year, and I am told he will not be able to join in the tournament. I am not in touch with Aligarh, the co-operating Muslim University, and so cannot say what stuff they have among the cricketers. Considering that there are always well over a thousand students there, Aligarh can be relied on to supply a strong contingent every year.

Business in Bombay is bad. There is no money to be seen anywhere. I think Bombay is getting bitter over the treatment it has received from the Government. It would appear as if England is determined to crush Bombay out from among its competitors. Every one is swearing and cursing and every one is hard up. How long this dull market lasts nobody can say. More in my next.

* It was the Editor not the Office (Ed. *Comrade*).



Of Keys.*

"Now, this Key was a fairy."

— *History of Blue Beard.*

It must be a flinty heart that can read without a sympathetic throb one of those plaintive advertisements often seen in newspapers which offer lavish sums of comparatively valueless gold for the restoration of "A bunch of keys, on a steel ring." These simple words touch a key-note which finds an echo in every bosom not utterly destitute of feeling.

The wise and witty Sydney Smith instituted a "Screaming-gate," at the verge of his parochial demesne, for the purpose of allowing due scope and expansion to the peculiar distress attending it; and, indeed, no family should be without some appropriate "waiting-place" of this sort, some monumental portal, or liminary grove, sacred to memory and the *Dii Viales* who are said to preside over luggage.

Although this particular misery is common to all, yet for man's grosser nature, there are certain mitigations and tender assuagements (which his partner cannot share), that soften, if they do not remove the sense of bereavement. He can kick his portmanteau, if he cannot open it; he can rip up and disembowel his carpet-bag, he can smash his despatch-box. Above all, he can swear! A hearty oath has been known to take the sting out of many such sorrows, it enters into the category of what are called "resources within one's self," and, as such, should not be altogether neglected.

But in the case of hapless woman these safety-valves for legitimate emotion do not exist. In her keyless agony she is a lioness robbed of her cubs, yet denied the alleviation of a roar. Moreover, the amount of misery entailed on the two sexes by this loss admits of

*Among the old contributions which used to pour in upon us in the old days, and which we have now unearthed after an interval of twelve years, this essay has been found. The contributor sent it to us from Patna College, but we are still unable to make up our mind if the essay is original and his own. Nevertheless, we publish it, as it is eminently worthy of publication; and even if it has seen the light before this, many a reader who, like us, had not read it before, would, we feel sure, enjoy its perusal now in our columns. We have addressed the gentleman who had sent it to us in 1912 from Ramna, Moradpur, (Patna) and asked him to send us more contributions of the kind, but have not yet heard from him. If by any chance he comes across this issue, we trust he will write to us, and not only send us his present address, but also other Charles-Lamb-like contributions, provided, of course, they are original.

Ed. Comrade.

no comparison. Man has but a limited capacity of suffering, in as much as he is a creature of few keys. He probably possesses but, *le strict necessaire*,—let us say, a latch-key, a watch-key, (perhaps) a cellaret-key, mere bagatelles. Woman, on the other hand,—especially woman of a methodical turn—is all keys. Not to mention that congeries of cares—the domestic bunch—she has all sorts of outlying and isolated keys; keys *in partibus infidelium*; keys that lock out and lock in and lock up everything lockable—especially keys: which are in themselves susceptible of captivity, *custodes custodiunt*. When that fatal complication takes place, it is impossible to sound the depths of a woman's keylessness!

Thoughtless persons look upon keys from a merely subjective point of view—as suggestive of and subordinate to locks. "Under lock and key" is the usual careless way of speaking, putting (as it were) the cart before the horse. Persons of an analytic turn and discursive fancy will overleap the true object of reflection; they will wander from the matter in hand—the key, shut their eyes upon its concomitant, the key-hole, and, disdaining to linger even in that mediate region, the press, cupboard, closet, or store-room, under their bodily eyes, will mount (metaphorically) from shelf to shelf, till they lose themselves in bewildered contemplation of finite man's infinite faculties of acquisitiveness and retentiveness.

The antiquarian, again, will busy himself with the question "When did man first begin to lock up?" "When wild in woods the noble savage ran," of course, he carried no keys; a stone rolled to a cavern's mouth was probably the first rough expression of an art which has been so finely elaborated in later days. Boulders must have been precious stones in that golden age, when the rarity of property so simplified the duties and cares of possession.

The Greeks and Romans must have had but sorry methods of guarding their possessions. Would Cretan Aristippus have strewn the Libyan sands with his gold, when his over-burdened slaves found it too heavy for a hurried journey,—would miser Chremes have buried his money in the earth,—if either of them had possessed at home some decent lock-up place, or civilized strong-box? Who ever saw a Pompeian cellar-key? Rusty nails from that locality are to be met with in museums, but where are the keys that guarded their curious vintages? Horace certainly uses the expression *servata centum clavibus*, but it is evidently a figure of speech, in honour of his friend Posthumus's genteel establishment; he never mentions the thing as in use in his own cosy bachelor household. Indeed, it puzzles one to guess how he managed about these matters. The Sabine *vin ordinaire* was probably left about in careless profusion;

and it is possible that his Chian hogheads may have been occasionally "on tap" in the atrium, as pipes of claret used to be in hospitable Irish drawing-rooms fifty or sixty, or rather a century ago; but how about all that "choice Falernian" and "hoarded Coccuban?" Pitching and plastering the mouths of the vessels was but a poor expedient. What was to prevent the abstraction of a fat amphora or two, if that ubiquitous "boy" of his had any taste for "care-dispelling Massie?"

But this is a digression. The uses of keys are no worthy subject for the true philosopher's contemplation; he looks upon the essences of things; he sees a key in its objective signification; he cares not for its qualifications as arbiter and agent of those vain attributes, "mine and thine," he takes no interest in futile distinctions. He never locks anything up—knowing the inutility and peril of the act; it adds nothing to the security of property, but is apt to inspire others with too strong an interest in it. "Nothing venture, nothing have" is his favourite proverb, but with a more enlightened signification than it generally conveys. He looks upon a key as a mystic entity of diabolical powers—a talisman which can confer on inert matter, such as wood, iron, brass, leather etc., the faculty of baffling and circumventing you in the effort to get at your own possessions.

This is, in fact, the only sound view of the subject. When once the mind has recognised this truth, every single key on your bunch will assume a peculiar physiognomy, even as it possesses a distinct idiosyncrasy. One key will come into your family with a certain malicious glitter about it—a defiant swagger and sparkle, that foretells the life-long struggle you are destined to have with it; you see at once that it will "rather bend than break," and rather break than open your box, desk, drawer, or portfolio, as the case may be. Another will wear a dull and gloomy air—a "here to-day and gone to-morrow" sort of appearance, as good as an epitaph and much more veracious.

House-door keys have been seen of so truculent and forbidding a countenance that their very presence in the lock is supposed to have scared away the prowling depredator; one, indeed, has been known—on a remarkable occasion—to have "comprehended an auspicious person," and to have done good service in the capacity of a life-preserver.

What family has not, at times, possessed some meek little tea-caddy or perhaps cellaret-key, which, however facile and effectual at other times, was liable—in any sudden exigency—to fall into so painful a state of hamper and embarrassment, as no effort of its owner could soothe, or politely feigned indifference on the part of visitors' allay?

What household but has its own legendary reminiscences of keys strangely lost and mysteriously regained?—keys that have gone and *hung themselves* (for no human agency is ever traceable on these occasions) on wrong rings, and wandered madly into wrong pockets? Impulsive keys, that have been found apparently trying to open wrong locks of their own accord, and have broken short off in the effort to recover themselves. Industrious keys, which, on some favourable occasion, have so improved "the shining hour" that wax has been found in their wards. Precious keys (of tills and iron safes), each fondly supposed, by its possessor, to be as unique of its kind as the silver decadrachm of Alexander the Great, yet suddenly discovered to have twin brothers as experienced as themselves in the duties of their office.

The most careless observer will have been struck by a difference in the outward semblance of keys apparently subjected to the same external influences.

Observe the engaging exterior of the area-gate key! Exposed to all the vicissitudes of weather, subjected to the temporary command of every scullion, yet ever bright, brisk, alert and shining; alive to the meanest exigencies of domestic organization; cheerfully responsive

to the call of butcher, baker, milk-man and fish-monger; not superciliously deaf to the voice of the humbler rag-merchant or somnolent dustman. How singular is its apt appreciation of the majesty of Themis, in the person of a police-man! with what oily alacrity it turns in the impassive lock to give him ingress, or discreet exit from the social seclusion of your kitchen. Thence, rising with rubicund viange, he goes forth like a giant (doubtless refreshed) on his sternly beneficent career. His march eastward is, in fact, a modest "triumph"—not as madly clamorous perhaps as that of Indian Bacchus, but partaking in some degree of the god's privileges and attributes. Whispered "Evoes" from every area attend his steps; *Pan* is not entirely excluded from the pageant; the rattle of knife and fork will be heard, and the tinkle of the area-gate (and other keys), instead of the clash of noisy cymbals.

The domestic latch-key, in full use, at the height of the season, is reported to have a worn and dissipated look. Those who are acquainted with its uses and habits affirm that it is apt to get muzzy and confused about four o'clock in the morning—incapable of key-holes and altogether effete and idiotic.

No doubt there is an appropriate horror in the aspect of a "skeleton" key, the name imports it—secret murder is in the very sound. It has the *hiss* of caution and the true burglarious rattle in it; there must be an evil harmony and coincidence between its countenance and its name. It leads the thoughts to another and a worse key—

The key of Newgate gaol! Can the uninitiated realise its awful appearance? Viewed from the *outside*, no doubt, its peculiarities are less impressive; but we can conceive an aspect whose steely glitter might have the effect of Medusa's head!

The key of Bedlam is reported to work backwards, like a witch's prayer. Some say that it is always held by the ward end, and unlocks with the handle.

The Lord Chamberlain's key has a moral influence superior to that of any key in the kingdom—not excepting the Lord Chancellor's. It has the faculty of discrimination; and with the facility of a magic-wand it separates the sheep from the goats in the fashionable herd. But it would demand a greater space than these pages can afford to discuss the various attributes and powers of what may be called public keys;—from the Foreign Office despatch-box key, to the keys of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—which, we doubt not, are to be distinguished by a dignified reticence, and an alacrity in locking up. What we would especially recommend to general observation is the *generic* tendency of all keys to spontaneous reproduction. This tendency is perhaps most remarkable in the *clavis domestica*, or key of private life, whose prolific qualities may be tested by a simple experiment. A very small bunch of them left in any confined space, during a few months' absence on the part of their owner, will be found on his return to have colonized the whole drawer. In fact, single keys should never be left under these conditions for any time: they become family keys in no time. It is supposed that they sprout like asparagus in damp weather. It is a singular fact, that this reproductive faculty is to be found in no other metallic substance, however fashioned; locks never multiply of their own devices, you may leave any number of guineas together, yet never find an addition among them: sometimes quite the reverse.

The awkward consequences which may arise from this property of the key of domestic life may be easily imagined. You may come some day in a transport of anxious haste to the receptacle of your more important keys, to seek for (let us say) the key of the medicine-chest in some moment of an exquisitely emotional character; instead of the desired key, you find a mole of nameless, objectless keys staring you in the face, tripping up your fingers, and maddening you by their multiplicity and insane uniformity of aspect. Curiously enough these "tadpole" keys, as they may be called, have at first no special

physiognomy; it is only when launched into practical existence, and apportioned among the key-holes of real life, that they grow to be as distinct in appearance, and as diabolical in character as their elders.

Such is the essential nature of these "shining mischiefs." Tricky, deceitful, capricious—never to be trusted out of your sight, and full of irritating associations when in it; informed by some devilish intelligence that only leads them wrong, and provocative of evil influences in others:—"with all the rash dexterity of wit" for purposes of annoyance, yet powerless to do even the small good for which they were intended.

If a man is wise, he will banish them from his pocket; if woman knows her own interests, she will lock them up for ever. If, however, the possession of great riches absolutely necessitates the employment of keys, let their hapless owner keep them well in hand, and allow no key to get the better of him; let there be no "master-key" in his establishment, if he values his peace of mind. If he must use them, let him do so, in moderation, he will never want an occasion to abuse them. When that fortunate and not improbable circumstance occurs, let him not rush madly into the Advertisement columns of a newspaper—let him not provoke fate by offering a reward for their restoration—but let him "call the watch together, and thank God he is rid of knaves."

In concluding this slight notice of the properties of an agent only too powerful in its influence on human affairs, we cannot avoid taking a side-glance at certain keys whose qualifications are universally alluded to, in polite conversation and refined literature but which have never yet been collected, labelled and catalogued, as they ought to be.

We are constantly hearing of "the key to So-and-so's extraordinary conduct," "the key to a certain person's machinations," "the key of Lord Somebody's conscience," "the key to everybody's secret thoughts and private affairs." These things, no doubt, have a real existence; we cannot do without them; they are an important part of those threadbare properties which belong to the world's stage (as it is generally called) and "life's poor play." But, has anybody seen them? They are probably knocking about in that æsthetic "green-room" of commonplace to which we all know our way; from whence we draw those slashing wooden swords and tin bucklers that are so effective in all arguments; those spangled coats and jerkins in which our poor thoughts occasionally strut so bravely; those banners with grand inscriptions, which look quite as well as opinions, at a little distance. There also may be found "all that useful lot" of hyperbolic essences.

The entities of things that are not yet

Subtlest, but surest beings!

such as the wedge whose thin end is always being introduced into our most venerable institutions, the hinge on which momentous affairs habitually turn; the hypothetical leg which nobody has got to stand on, in all arguments; the other side to every question; in short all the *matériel* for sensible conversation. These things are in constant requisition and daily use; but, like the mysteriously circulating shoe in the game of "Hunt-the-Slipper," their existence is only made manifest to the senses by the sounding rap with which we shuffle them round in the polite intercourse of good society.

It would be a good deed to fix, substantiate and classify these useful but volatile possessions, that they may be always at hand when wanted in public speech or private conversation; more specially the mystic keys to which we have referred. What a handy bunch that would be!



Petty Larceny.

(BY OUR SPECIAL KLEPTOMANIAC)

[Motto:—"Wit is your birthright, therefore steal it where-soever you find it."—*Rigmarole Veda or Travestied Traditions.*]

"Free verses" are those which don't rhyme except by accident, and don't scan except by mistake.

"Free verses!" said Lady Adela.

It was as final as if she had said "Free Love"

"Who set them free?" said Lady Adela.

"Oh," said Adolphus, "the same fellow who releases the films!"

The octogenarian was being married to a girl not yet out of her teens. Rather near-sighted, instead of leading his bride to the altar he came to a full-stop in front of the font, and then it was that the aged verger had the chance of his life.

"That ain't the bit o' church architecture your're lookin' for, sir," he whispered, "that is, not unless you want'er christened first."

A prominent society man was asked by a City firm to give some particulars of a young fellow who had applied for a job.

He wrote back, "I know Mr J to be excellently connected and well bred. His grandfather was General S., a cousin of the fourth Lord G. His mother was P., and so related to the Countess of H."

The manager of the firm replied, "Thank you very much for your letter in regard to Mr. J. We would state, however, that he is required for clerical work, and not for breeding purposes"

"I've just had my watch mended an' it'sh shtill wrong."

"Why, wha'sh matter with it?"

"It's pointin' to noon, an' it'sh midnight"

Essex Magistrate (to a young husband). "Why cannot you agree with your wife?"

Husband "Because her cooking does not agree with me"

Werner Bauer, a farmer, of Ebersbach, Bohemia, enjoyed smoking so much that in his will he requested that his pipe and tobacco pouch be buried with him. His wife honoured his wishes, and added a box of matches.

[It is not clear whether the deceased had forgotten to include the matches in his death-bed injunction, or remembered only too well the life he had lived and the place he would go to. *Ed Comrade*]

A Berwick man was informed that the name Dalziel should be pronounced "Deal." On that he wrote:—

Of your knowlde I've heard a good dalziel,

But now I am tempted to falziel

You've committed some blunder—

If not, well no wonder

Our spelling makes anyone squalziel!

A man complained as follows:—"What with mice in my room, and cats on the roof, I don't know what to do." The solution is obvious. Bring them together.

Two English tourists and a Scot were fellow-passengers in a train going North. As the train drew up at a station one of the tourists popped his head out of the window and, drawing a deep draught of fresh air, turned to his companion and exclaimed: "Isn't this salubrious?"

"Yes," replied his friend, "I think it is exhilarating."

"Na, na," chimed in the Scot; "ye're baith wrang; it's Bannockburn."

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.		PAGE
THE SWARAJISTS' APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY . .	49	LEADING ARTICLES--	
BRITISH JUSTICE & NATIVE RACES	50	In Mother's Memory . .	53
POETRY		Appeal of Party Tactics	53
The Eternal Present ..	51	SHORT STORY --	
TELE-A-TELE -		Two Runners	57
To Subscribers ...	52	A LITTLE ABOUT THE REFORMERS -	59
To Contributors	52	Anecdotes ..	59
A Contributor's Revenge	53	QUIPS--	
The Slavery of Journalism	53	A Page from the Past	60
		ADVERTISEMENTS	62- 64

Mahatmaji has given his blessings to the Swaraj Party and entrusted it with the responsibility of carrying on on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation all work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures. The Swaraj Party feels happy and proud in assuming this responsibility and confidently undertakes to oppose the advancing tide of repressive reaction in the several Legislatures and the country at large. The advent of a Conservative Government in England with a large majority makes it highly probable that there will be a long and hard struggle. The Party is fully prepared for it. But it is obvious that its efforts will only succeed in the measure in which the patriotic men and women of India lend it their active support and co-operation in the shape of men and money. The time when it was enough to give silent support to the Party which it is conscious it has always enjoyed is gone by. The great moment in the life of the nation has come. The Executive Committee of the Swaraj Party appeals to all Indians who love the motherland to stand by the Party by openly joining it as members and helping it with funds. We are not anarchists, nor violent revolutionaries, nor secret plotters in the dark. We fight in the open for our rights with non-violent and constitutional weapons. All the violence that there is in this fight is arrayed against us and is on the side of the Government. We take no heed of it and march on full of hope and full of heart.

The Swarajists' Appeal to the Country.

The action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance 1924 in Bengal has simplified the political situation. It has laid bare the rooted defect of the much vaunted Reforms and of the whole system under which the country is being governed. It has revealed the fact that notwithstanding many professions to the contrary the temper of the British Government continues to be what it was in the pre-Reform days and at the time when the Rowlatt Act was passed. On the least provocation the Government is only too apt to resort to terrorism over the head of the Legislature under cover of emergency powers.

The Swaraj Party is at the present moment the target of official attacks and will have to bear the full brunt of the reactionary repression. After a personal examination of the situation on the spot Mahatma Gandhi has expressed his complete concurrence with the Executive Committee of the Swaraj Party that the policy of repression commenced in Bengal by the local Government with the sanction of the Governor-General is aimed in reality not at any party of violence but at the Swaraj Party and therefore at constitutional and orderly activity. The fact that the persons so far arrested in Bengal are with few exceptions all Swarajists and the further fact that there is not one amongst them against whom the Government is prepared to prove any connection with anarchical crime in open court are enough to expose the hollowness of the official professions that the Ordinance is not aimed at the Swaraj Party.

This appeal is not in the nature of propaganda against any other political party. The Executive Committee of the Swaraj Party has already joined Mahatma Gandhi in making an earnest appeal to all parties to unite against the new danger which threatens all alike. The Swaraj Party welcomes all comrades in arms to whatever party they may belong and is ready to accommodate them as far as possible. With this object in view it has called a meeting of all the Indian elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures to meet it in Conference in Bombay and arrive at a common understanding. But the only fitting answer to the action of the Government for all parties and individual to give is to join the Swaraj Party. The opportunities of a people governed against their own will vary in direct proportion to the severity of the repression employed against them. The recent Ordinance superseding the Criminal law in Bengal is in all conscience as severe a repressive measure as any Government which cares to save its face before the civilised world can adopt with immunity. Shall we not make the best use of the opportunity that Providence has given us? And can we use that opportunity better than by concentrating all our available forces upon the objective of the attack which is none other than the Swaraj Party? We appeal to the men and women of India to rally round the Party. We appeal to the rich to give generously of their plenty. We appeal to the poor to give their humble mite. We appeal to both to join the army of fighters for the country's cause.

MOTILAL NEHRU,

General Secretary, All-India Swaraj Party.

British Justice and Native Races.

If you ask a Yoruba in Lagos, a Bechama in the Kalahari desert, a Creole in the West Indies, a Singalese in Ceylon, or an indigenous inhabitant of any territory in the scattered Dependencies of the British Commonwealth what is the unquestioned benefit his people have received at the hands of the British race, he will, in nine cases out of ten, say - British justice. Second in pride of place a dozen advantages will jostle each other for pre-eminence, but none compete in the mentality of aboriginal races for the outstanding position occupied by the administration of justice. The British race is justly proud of its record in this respect and rightly jealous of anything which may dim the lustre of this record. It is because of this that a good deal of uneasiness is being felt at the effect of certain measures and actions in territories under the British flag in the African continent.

Most experienced Colonial Administration agree that there are three main essentials to safeguard in the administration of justice:

- (a) That judicial matters should be settled by judicial officers independent of the Executive.
- (b) That judicial officers should only be removable with the sanction of the Secretary of State.
- (c) That in the administration of justice, penalties imposed for crimes should be inflicted without regard to race, creed or colour.

These principles have so long formed the accepted pillars of colonial administration of justice that the general public learns with something of a shock that the African Dependencies have witnessed during the last few years grave departures from them, involving the deplorable consequences of an impaired faith in British justice. The most ominous of these consequences is to be found in Kenya Colony, where recently Mr. Justice Sheridan, in giving judgment in the Molo case, stated that although the type of case then before him was rare, yet "the lesson of the Courts had not been learned by the accused," whilst in Rhodesia Mr. Justice Tredgold, comparing the treatment of whites with certain excessive punishments inflicted on natives, said: "It is a grave matter to do anything which may discredit the system which so long as it is maintained should be administered fearlessly and without favour." It is clear that the time has come for the people of certain other territories, with or without the assistance of the Home authorities, to put an end to shocking cases of sheer ruffianism which defame the fair reputation of the British Administration. The procedure cannot be defended under which it is possible to flog natives to death, and then by the process of calling it "Hurt" inflict penalties only applicable to assault even "Simple Hurt," instead of murder. The education of native races is advancing at so rapid a pace that they are now beginning, not merely to comment, but to propagate widely their unfavourable comments, upon the lowering standards of justice under the British flag.

COUNSEL BARRED.

The Nigerian system which denies to prisoners the right to engage Counsel to defend them has now had a fair trial during the five years of its operations, and the House of Commons awakened with somewhat of a shock to the fact, first brought to the notice of Members by Mr. Sidney Webb, that under its operations twenty people, including apparently two women, had been sentenced to death and eighteen of them hanged in public without a single one of them being either tried by Jury or defended by Counsel.

The reform of the Judicial system of Nigeria was undertaken by Sir Frederick Lugard in 1919. Before this date the system then in existence had led to delay and to abuses upon a scale which demanded far-reaching reforms. The lack of integrity amongst native Court officials had apparently led to corruption and to grave results in the administration of justice. Sir Frederick Lugard in 1919 gave to Nigeria the reformed system which has resulted in substantial improvements in several directions, but he would probably be the first to admit that the time has now come when

modifications might be considered. The Courts in Nigeria are: (a) the Supreme Court; (b) the Provincial Courts; (c) the Native Courts. Under defined conditions cases may be transferred from the Provincial Courts to the Supreme Court, but how far prisoners are aware of this possibility, and, when aware of it, competent to obtain a transfer, is doubtful. The Provincial Courts are almost entirely under the control of *Political Officers* without legal training, but they are compelled to pass an examination both as to their knowledge of law and of the native language. Counsel is altogether debarred from appearing in the Provincial Courts to the Supreme Court except, by leave of the Chief Justice or presiding Judge when there is any legal point in dispute. Counsel is also debarred from appearing in the Native Courts. The resentment aroused by this debarring of Counsel appears to be much deeper and more widespread than is generally supposed by the Nigerian Government. From the general standpoint, it is important to remember that the practice is now being adopted in other Dependencies; thus one of the fundamental safeguards in the administration of justice is being undermined.

According to Mr. Thomas, the following executions took place in Nigeria without any of the accused being allowed the assistance of Counsel:—

1920	107
1921	97
1922	87
1923	90

That is, 381 persons were executed in four years, not one of whom had professional assistance; this total of executions among 17 millions of people is, of course, far in excess of executions in the British Isles with a population exceeding 40 millions.

The three principle reasons for adopting this practice were (a) that avarice of the legal community; (b) the love of litigation inherent in the African race; (c) the lack of legal training by the Political Officers who preside over the Provincial Courts. The fact that the legal fraternity in West Africa demand fees which rarely take into sympathetic consideration the resources of their clients must be conceded, but are they alone in this? That in former years many of them surrounded themselves by limpets who touted for them is emphasised by all responsible officials, but surely some measures might have been taken for dealing drastically with such a pernicious practice short of depriving prisoners of the legal assistance. It is difficult to escape from the view that the lack of legal training on the part of the Provincial Political Officers was the most powerful reason for this decision. This view was set forth by Sir Edwin Speed in language which lacks nothing in clearness:

It is he (the Political Officer acting as Judge) is to be continually bullied (I am not using the word offensively) by Counsel raising objections on technical points with the hearing of which he is, but imperfectly acquainted, his usefulness is likely to be considerably impaired and his activities circumscribed in a manner which will not tend to the benefit of the community.

Moreover, having regard to the fact that the Judges of the Provincial Courts are mostly not professional men, the presence of Counsel taking part in the proceedings having higher professional qualifications than the bench is not fair to the latter as tending to impair its authority and destroy confidence in its decisions.

It is true, of course, that capital sentences are referred for confirmation to the Governor, and there is every reason to suppose that the Governor and Council give to such cases the most painstaking attention, but the facts of the Oron and Calabar hangings throw a flood of light upon the working of the judicial system in Nigeria. The question arises whether without grave damage to British prestige in West Africa a judicial system can be permanently tolerated under which British subjects can be *charged, tried and executed* by Political Officers without the controlling influence of a jury or any assistance whatever from legal advisers—the Oron hangings seem to provide a most conclusive answer.

Whilst the very drastic reforms were being inaugurated in Nigeria, a process had been set in motion in Sierra Leone which

seems to be tending towards the abolition of the jury system, to which the people are strongly attached, and substituting for it that of Assessors—a system under which the judge is free to set aside at will the verdict of the Assessors. The most recent case tried under this system was that of George Fitzgerald—in this case a white Official. The charge was that of larceny, and the sum of money concerned quite small. Fitzgerald was tried in May last, and found *Not Guilty* by the unanimous voice of the Assessors, but a verdict of *Guilty* was given by the judge, and Fitzgerald sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard Labour.

FLOGGING TO DEATH.

In the most recent cases of flogging to death, the victim received lashings far in excess of physical endurance. It will be remembered that under the German Administration of East Africa not more than twenty-five strokes could be administered in one day. In Niger's the Legislative limit is twelve strokes. Those who have been compelled to witness the flogging of Africans will agree that by the time twenty-five lashes have been given by the hide-whips or reims on the bare flesh the victim is, in most cases, unconscious. Mr. Justice Krause, a South African magistrate, recently refused to allow more than four lashes, because, he declared, "the physical pain inflicted by six or eight lashes is as much as the human frame can bear." In the Watts-Benschart case, in Kenya the flogging was repeatedly administered alternately with "ducking" in the river until the victim was inert, whether he had actually died before being spread-eagled, or before being burned, appears to be open to some doubt. In this case the two accused were convicted by the judicial process peculiar to Kenya of "Simple Hurt," only; one of the accused being "bound over" and other fined 1,000 rupees. The Magistrate declared, "I have never heard of such brutality in all my experience," and both the Governor of the Colony and Lord Milner expressed regret at the result of the trial.

The remarkable manner in which these charges of homicide are reduced to varying degrees of "Hurt" is best illustrated by the most recent case, of which details are now available. The accused was Jasper Abraham of Molo, and the native flogged to death was named Kitosh. The jury returned a verdict of "Grievous Hurt," and the judge sentenced the accused to the appropriate penalty of two years' imprisonment. The flogging took place in June, 1923, and the trial only recently concluded. It was alleged that the man Kitosh had ridden a mare in foal, but the Assistant-Superintendent of Police stated that he examined the horse, but found no signs of injury. Kitosh was thrown on the ground and then flogged by Abraham until he was too "fagged" to continue, he then called three natives, one after another to carry on the flogging. Kitosh was unconscious during the last flogging, but even then his sufferings were not ended, for upon recovering consciousness he was further ill-treated, then bound hand and foot with ropes. He died the following evening.

The Duke of Devonshire, in a Despatch now available, expressed his abhorrence of the crime, and observed that his legal advisers were of the opinion that:

"a verdict of anything less than man slaughter is quite irreconcilable with the facts. A verdict of man slaughter would no doubt have involved a more adequate punishment."

And the Colonial Secretary concluded:

"So long as this condition of affairs remains, the jury system can only be regarded, so far as cases of this nature are concerned, as on its trial. I share the reluctance of my predecessors to interfere with an institution which is so closely bound up with British traditions of justice, but it is clear that in the special conditions of Kenya the working of the system requires to be carefully watched."

"I must, therefore, lay it down as a definite instruction that in any future High Court case in which a native or a non-native is charged with causing death or bodily hurt to a non-native or native respectively, a shorthand report of the trial must be furnished to me, in order that I may be in a better position to judge, with the assistance of my legal advisers, to what extent justice is being impartially administered between the two races."

The procedure by which a charge can be varied seems to be as follows. The judge can add charges to the original charge of murder or homicide, for example "Grievous Hurt," or "Simple Hurt." The jury cannot vary the charge, but they decide on the facts which are sustained, and on the facts so sustained the Judge has to state the charge to which these facts apply. It is apparently only in Kenya, amongst the Dependencies, that it is possible to vary the charge.

The most recent case of flogging to death in other British territories is the Southern Rhodesian case at Mbeza, which also occurred in June, 1923, and this case shows the terrible physical effects of flogging. The native flogged to death was named Maragacha. He had been accused by his employers of stealing, a charge stoutly denied by the man, who was evidently a big and thoroughly healthy native. The man was flogged severely, but to nothing like the extent of Kitosh in the Molo case. Mr. Justice Russell asked Dr. Burnett, who had found the body perfectly healthy, to state concisely the cause of the death of the man, whereupon he replied, "Death was due to inhibition of the heart due to shock of the nervous system caused by beating in the condition in which the man probably was, by being first tied by the neck and then on the floor." The accused were fined £25 and £5 respectively. Another striking contrast to the Rhodesian flogging case is that brought to light by Mr. Justice Tredgold. In this case two natives "were trapped into selling 1s. worth of Kaffir beer." It was the first offence in a country district, yet each was sentenced to pay a fine of £25 or four months' imprisonment! That is £50 for selling 1s. worth of Kaffir beer in the very same territory in which two men convicted of culpable homicide (flogging a native to death) are fined £25 and £5—£30!

The facts of these cases illustrate grave departures from Britain's high standard of justice; they are being denounced by native communities not only in Africa but in other countries where coloured men congregate. It is passing strange, however, that protests against these unfortunate incidents is being left almost entirely to Judicial Officers. It is idle to close our eyes to the fact that with increasing economic competition race prejudice is seriously on the increase; every effort, therefore, must be made to secure a high standard of judicial procedure. It is an open secret that Lord Milner expressed himself strongly about certain cases of extreme brutality in Kenya Colony. Surely the time has come to intimate that any future case will be met by deporting from British Dependencies as "undesirables" any persons found guilty of these practices. It is due to the Colony itself and due to every decent-minded settler in the Colonies, no less than to the British public, that action of this kind should be taken.

John H. Harris, M. P. in *The Contemporary Review*



THE ETERNAL PRESENT

While, trammelled by the senses, wearily,

I scan the infinite heavens star by star,
And cling to measured Time, as to a spar,

In my lone voyage o'er Being's boundless sea,
I hear a secret voice say "still with thee

The Infinite, th' Eternal—deemed afar,
The Past, the Present, and the Future are
Commingleing portions of Eternity.

Thy life, while drifting onward on its way,

Through calm, through storm, through changing night
and morn,

As on the bosom of successive waves,

Is in Eternity, thy Judgment day

Is Now, and every secret thought that's born

Within thy soul e'en now condemns or saves!"

NIZAMAT JUNG

TETE A TETE



EVER since *The Comrade* came into existence in January, 1911, it has depended for its continued existence on the voluntary efforts of its subscribers to enlarge their circle. If it was itself its best advertisement, its subscribers were its best, and, in fact, its only canvassers. The revived *Comrade* trusts to the same old tradition, and we hope we do not trust in vain. Quite a large number of its old subscribers have already responded to our invitation to enlist again as subscribers; but it has not been possible to trace so many of them after the lapse of ten years. This is true in particular of under-graduates who used to receive their copies to the address of their respective colleges. By now they have no doubt entered the life at the threshold of which they stood a decade ago; but we hope *The Comrade* which they loved so dearly in their college days when even Rs. 2 was not an inconsiderable sum to pay every quarter, is no less loveable to-day when it demands from them as earners of incomes Rs. 12 a year, which they can without much difficulty spare. *The Comrade* never paid its way, and was always run at a loss. Much as we would like to continue it in all circumstances, we fear it cannot be run on those lines. We cannot count on the support of the philanthropic rich, even though we must express our gratefulness to one of them without whose ready and generous assistance we could not have revived *The Comrade* and *The Hamdard*. We are poor ourselves and must depend upon the patriotic poor. We wish we could reduce the subscription; but that is not possible, unless the circulation is greatly increased. We prefer to use, as far as possible, only Indian materials in the production of *The Comrade*, but it is not possible to secure good paper in India except at a higher rate than English paper. It is almost twice as high as that we used to pay for English paper ten to fourteen years ago. Some good type is now cast in India also; but it costs more than the type cast in England before the war. As for wages, they are twice as high as they used to be before, and the same is true of almost everything else that makes up the total bill of printing. As a matter of fact we had at first intended to use cheaper material in the production of *The Comrade*, but finally decided against it on account of the strong pressure brought to bear on us by so many of the old lovers of *The Comrade*. They suggested that the editor should reserve his "asceticism" for himself, and not impose it on the paper. In fact, they had come to suspect if a man "bearded like the pard" and clad in a coarse home spun *acha* was capable of writing English! We hope that suspicion has by now been proved to be ill-founded, and although we are not in love with anything regal, we hope *Comrade* English is still recognisable as King's English. Well, if the readers of *The Comrade* wish it to continue to appear, and to keep up its present appearance, and even to improve upon it, they must look sharp and

canvass for more subscribers. Every day orders are coming in and they are coming in fast enough, but we would still prefer a faster pace.

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IF we have need of more subscribers, we have still greater need of contributors to our columns. It is true *The Comrade* had never more than a small circle of select contributors, and that for the most part it was "Home-Made." But this was not for want of those who favoured us with their writings. The editor was himself always easy to please, but the sub-editor was fearfully fastidious, and even more fastidious was the manager, who always forgot that he was an intruder in the editorial sanctum, but remembered even better than us "*The Comrade* standard," and always reminded us of it. That is why *The Comrade* "staff," consisting only of the editor for the first six months, and of an editor and a sub-editor for the rest of its existence, except for an assistant for a few months whose "assistance" was seldom permitted to be noticeable in the columns of the paper, had to rely almost entirely on its own resources. But that was not all. Many a would-be contributor was treated with such cold indifference and neglect, if not worse, that only a few select contributors remained on our list. On one occasion a contributor whose contribution did not see the light of day for several weeks asked us for the return of the MS. and it was not altogether lucky that it had not been destroyed, but could be rescued just in time from a receptacle other than the editorial drawers. The sub-editor's remarks in blue pencil in reply to the editor's query about the quality of the MS. escaped the latter's eye when the MS. was returned, and *The Comrade* lost for ever a friend and a subscriber.

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IN another instance, however, the tables were turned. A short story was contributed by a near relative of the editor and duly appeared in *The Comrade* as it was an excellent one of its kind. This was followed by another which was an ill-favoured cross between a short story and a sketch. It was rejected, more by the manager than by the editor, who stood in too mortal a terror of the relative aforementioned to endorse on the MS. the customary formula "Returned with thanks" and carry it off with the dignity associated with the editorial "We" shared by editors only with the King. But the manager was not only a super-editor—a sort of Lord Northcliffe in the office of *The Comrade*, but also the keeper of the editorial conscience. He insisted on pointing out that the quality of MS. could not vary in any sort of ratio with the degree of relationship that the contributor bore to the editor, and in consequence of his dictatorial intervention the ugly cross breed which was neither a short story nor a sketch was not published in spite of half a score of reminders from the said relative. It is true, blood is thicker than water; but it looked for a time as if some of this thick fluid might be spilt and even fratricide committed, for those were pre-Gandhi days when "violent co-operation"—in editorial work—was more the order of the day than Non-Violent Non-Co-operation and *ahimsa*. If this managerial fastidiousness did not actually result in bloodshed, it certainly led to a sort of family feud, and this state of affairs, when relations were neither "cordial" nor "friendly", but at best "correct," might have continued indefinitely if it were not for an accident. The Cawnpore Mosque tragedy must be within the recollection of a good many still. Well, this forced the editor to proceed to England on a mission of peace after a secret preparation of less than thirty hours—secret because a warrant might have been issued for his arrest if an old friend, who was then governing a province had come to know that the editor was preceding him "Home" by a

fortnight. The fastidious sub-editor was ill, and to save himself the trouble of writing even a single line would have passed any "copy." The manager was on the high seas returning after the Balkan War from Turkey. There was none but the author of the non-descript MS. who could be put in charge of *The Comrade*, with the result that the editor one night jumped out of his bed at a Grosvenor Gardens flat on opening the Indian Mail which brought the latest issue of *The Comrade*--almost the first issued since his departure--and found the half-short-story-half-sketch rejected by him a year or more ago staring him in the face. Never did cold print make a man feel more homicidal and fratricidal than did this editor feel on seeing this rejected "copy" appear in his paper. But nothing could be done and patience is the last resort of him who would not indulge in impotent rage. Perhaps it was just as well, for it put an end to what might have become the interminable chain of vendetta



WE have related this story only to emphasise that the editor deserted by manager as well as sub-editor, has also been forsaken by such fastidiousness, and like a beggar of donations he can now only say: "All contributions will be thankfully received". If any of our readers who can write as well as read good stuff was to keep company with the editor for a whole week he would never take up *The Comrade* to read without resolving to write for it as well. As if the worry of filling twenty-six columns of *The Comrade* every week, more than half of which has to be written by himself, was not enough, there is the additional worry of supervising of the work of the "fresh blood" infused into the veins of the old *Hamdard*, and particularly reading its ill-read and ill-corrected proofs most patiently--and sometimes most impatiently--after the day's issue has appeared? And then the new management which seems, at least just yet, to be even worse than the old one. The worst of all is the worry of keeping solvent. Reader, will you not sympathise with a man who had to sit down at 2.30 A.M., after closing his dead mother's eyes, to correct proofs on Thursday morning and spend the rest of the forenoon in writing his second "leader" while others were engaged in making arrangements for the funeral? Such is the Slavery of Journalism--called by some a free profession! Two friends who could be counted upon to take poor GHULAM HUSSAIN'S place have not been able to see their way to do so, and when one of them congratulated the editor on the success of the first issue of the revived *Comrade*, he had to be told by wire that greetings could not be accepted from friends who had deserted him, and that if he really wished success to the *Comrade*, he would take the first train for Delhi. This was perhaps too harsh; but not otherwise than human. Thank God, some of the old contributors still living have promised literary assistance, and we hope to be able to offer to our readers plenty of variety before long. But while we like to retain old friends, we want also to make new ones. In particular, we ask our readers to contribute to our correspondence columns short and crisp letters on current topics. Brevity is certainly the soul of wit, even though we ourselves can have no pretensions to it. Our apology for long articles is that we have no time to write short ones. Only those who know how much time it takes to think out and condense can appreciate this apology of an editor in a hurry



The Comrade.

In Mother's Memory.

(BY - MOHAMED ALI)

LAST week in the editorial columns of *The Comrade* it was stated that I, the Benjamin of the family, was less than two years old when my father died suddenly of cholera in the rains of 1880. He was then hardly 33 years of age and mother was left a widow at 28. Since I knew nothing of my father, although I have heard from mother that he naturally loved his youngest child greatly, and since mother never gave us occasion to miss our father, it is only now that I feel I have become orphan. But the casual reader will, I fear, little appreciate the meaning of orphanhood to me and still less its meaning to my brothers, Shaukat and Zulfiqar, for I am now 46, Shaukat and Zulfiqar are 52 and 55 respectively. An orphan excites and attracts our pity and sympathy, for the word "orphan" suggests a very young child who is left helpless by the death of his parents.

How can we who are ourselves grandparents of such children hope to rouse the sympathy of any one in our orphanhood to day? And yet, if only people knew how helpless we feel to day, they would know how terribly mother's death has orphaned us.

I do not know when exactly she was born; but she used to say she was five or six years old in the Mutiny, which she remembered very well, and from this I conclude she must have been born about the year 1852. She was thus 72 years old when she passed away.

Like the good Muslimah that she was, she accepted the Quranic basis of aristocracy, namely, piety. "*Inna akramakum, inda Allah atqakum.*" (The noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most God-fearing among you). Nevertheless, she was not a little proud of her ancestry, and used to chaff us by saying she had demeaned herself by marrying our father. For she was in direct line of succession of a number of Ministers of the Great Moghals, the last of whom was Nawab Shamsuddin Khan who retired from his office into the privacy of his home at Amroha, when other Ministers of the Court at Delhi in the days of its decline had usurped authority as Nawab Viziers in Oudh and other Provinces of the Moghal Empire. Her ancestors too were offered by the Great Moghals semi-independent dominion in the regions round about their home; but they had refused to exercise sway over Syed families, the descendants of the Prophet, who had their residence, and still have it, at Amroha.

During the Mutiny her parents with their elders decided that they should seek safety in their other home at Sambhal where a high wall surrounded their houses and their tenants could guard this *kot* from the depredations of the Jats who were playing havoc throughout that region. So recent was the connection of mother's family with the Court that fearing British retribution would confound the innocent with the guilty, her elders decided to burn all the documents they had in the family archives connecting them with their Moghal masters. At Amroha she used to point to us the *tahkhanah* or basement where these papers were burnt before their departure for Sambhal. In spite of this when the Mutiny was over, her aged uncle the head of the family more than 70 years old was ordered to be hanged at Moradabad. She used to tell us how he had requested the officer in charge of the execution to permit him to put the noose round his neck with his own hands instead of getting the sweeper to do it. The old gentleman placed it round his neck, but before it could be drawn he passed away. It was only then that the British officers realised that the servant who had given evidence against him was a traitor and had been tempted to lie for the sake of the reward promised to him. Another uncle of hers sought safety in flight, and has not been heard of to this day. Her own father changed his name and lived for several years as a refugee in independent Rampur State territory.

While she was at Sambhal two *risalas* of Rampur troops had been sent by the Nawab at the suggestion of our paternal grandfather under the command of two of his sons for the punishment of the Jat marauders. It was perhaps in this way that mother's people came into more intimate contact with that branch of the family to which father belonged. At any rate, our maternal grandfather's stay at Rampur under an assumed name must have led to greater intimacy, and it was perhaps this that led to the matrimonial alliance between the two branches.

Before her marriage too mother had not always lived at Amroha but had passed some years of her childhood in Safni in the Tahsil of Shahabad, which is the Zamindari territory ceded to the Rampur State at the end of the Mutiny in recognition of the inestimable services it had rendered to the British. (Our paternal grandfather has been admitted to have been throughout the Mutiny "right hand man" of his master, the Nawab of Rampur, and consequently he too received from the British a large area of rent-free or *muafi* land in the Moradabad district.)

It seems that our mother's family had possessed several villages which are now included in the State territories. They were contiguous to the State and their management had been taken over by a previous ruler of Rampur. Mother's ancestors had assisted him as Ministers at the Court of Delhi and when he had found that these villages were being mismanaged by the local estate agents, he had asked the head of mother's family to allow his State agents to manage them for him. On the death of that ruler a new line of Nawabs was established, and the new ruler had proclaimed that within a certain time he must receive the claims that anyone had against his predecessor or the State. One of mother's relations who was the issue of a second marriage contracted by one of her ancestors with a mason's widow suggested to the head of the family that a claim should forthwith be put in for the restoration of the villages placed under State management. The only reply he received was a rebuke and the observation that he was not going to send a petition or stand as a suppliant in the Nawab's Court for the restoration of "a few paltry villages." Those who were sitting near him also heard the "aside" evidently not meant for the young man's ears: "What else could any one expect from the son of a mason's widow?" Mother used to relate this story herself not without evident pride, because she and her people have always despised wealth while holding their heads very high on the ground of the purity of their blood and their ancestral traditions. From time immemorial our family has refused to enter into any matrimonial alliance with any other family, and if any young man has contracted a second marriage with a person outside the large enough family circle, although the second wife too has been accepted as his wife and the issue of that marriage, as his children and heirs and successors, these latter have been rigorously excluded from matrimonial alliances with other members of the family. When talking of the days of her stay at Safni mother used to refer to a relation of hers called Fajo Man an old maid with a fund of wisdom and experience of the world, under whose influence mother grew up from childhood into girlhood. All her life she felt grateful to this sagacious old lady and used to offer to us and specially to the girls of the family the advice she had received from her and had so thankfully treasured in her memory.

Her married life was a very happy one, for not only her husband, but her parents also, while they lived treated her with the greatest consideration. In those days, like everything else, men's morals had declined, and it was a sort of fashion for every Muslim grandee to have a mistress, generally from among the dancing girls, whom the better sort generally married not long after the *fasan*. All our uncles had contracted a second marriage, and when we grew up we used to wonder how our father alone had escaped this.

It was then that we learnt from mother how father also had a narrow escape; but to our question how she would have pulled out with a co-wife if father had married this other woman, she unhesitatingly and resolutely replied, "I would have treated that

base and low woman as my husband's *izzat* (honour) and would have fed and clothed her and her children before feeding and clothing myself and you. Of our two houses she would have had the larger and the newer and I would have grudged her nothing." When our only sister, whom mother loved more than any one of us and who has been ungrudgingly accepted by all of us as the head of our house in the place of mother, although she is the youngest of us all, but for me,—when she found that her husband had married another wife at Indore and was ashamed to return home after that or to send for her, she put into practice all that mother had said she would have done if father had married a second wife. Our sister went to Indore with Shaukat and fetched her co-wife and ever since the two have lived as sisters. When a son was born to my sister's eldest daughter it was neither his own mother nor hers that brought him up as a son but her mother's co-wife from whom he cannot even now, that he is about eight years old, consent to be parted for a single day. We never return home without some present for our only sister; but a present of equal or still greater value is first made to her co-wife, and had we ever felt differently inclined, mother would have been the first to rebuke our remissness. Need we say that among those whose grief at mother's death was most heart-rending is the *saut* (the proverbially hated co-wife) of her only daughter and her best beloved child?

Father, too, on his side, was never found lacking in consideration for mother. In her own household she was the monarch of all she surveyed, and if father had occasion to be dissatisfied with any maid-servant he never addressed her direct, but used to say to mother "*apke naukaron ne hamko bahut diq kar rakha hai*," (your servants have worried me a great deal). Only those who know Urdu well can understand the delicate courtesy and dignity of *apke naukaron ne*. Mother never ceased to treasure the memory of all these delicate attentions and used to tell us that on one occasion father had severely rebuked the Punjabi singing-girl whom he had thought of marrying only because on seeing our sister in the arms of a servant she had said to him: "Why do you feel any attachment for a person like me when your own wife must be so handsome? I have just seen your daughter and she is such a pretty little child." I fear father was not over-polite in addressing this person and ended the colloquy with the question: "How darest such a thing as thou refer to our wife?" On another occasion mother tells us he was even more severe in his treatment of this woman. Early one morning before sunrise while she was reciting her *wizifa* after the morning prayer she was charmed by this trance of *mular* that she heard at that early hour from the neighbouring house which father had built as his *mardana* or residence for housing male-guests and receiving male visitors. The season was that of the monsoon and the morning was cloudy, while fine spray was falling on the still-thirsty earth from the dark clouds above. Mother was human enough to neglect her *wizifa* for a moment or two and listen to the seasonal music. But her enjoyment of this was short-lived and the Punjabi singing-woman suddenly stopped right in the middle of her *tan*. It was sometime later that she heard from a devoted man-servant who was present in the *mardana* how father had rushed out of the *dalan* when he was reclining into the *sahan* or courtyard, where the Punjabi was singing and had slapped her face for daring to proclaim her protection so near the house where his wedded wife was living. It was a strange generation indeed when a finer courtesy than ours and a peculiar and a very delicate sense of honour were combined with a lack of certain virtues which our own generation, if it does not itself practise them, at least does not also equally openly disregard.

During the last years of his life father had incurred the wrath of the ruler of Rampur by associating with the latter's brother regardless of the suspicion such association easily creates in autocratic bosoms. He had therefore left the service of the State where he had held military rank and had travelled in search of service in other States. In those travels of his he had met and had become a very intimate friend of the late Maharaja Shivaji Rao Holkar, as

I learnt from that independent-minded late ruler of Indore himself during a visit of his to Baroda twenty years ago. He finally settled down at Jaipur where he was offered and accepted a *Nizamat* or charge of a district, but which fell vacant only a day after his death. While he was staying at Jaipur he maintained a standard of living for which the money he received from home, from his estate, still rigorously controlled by his elder brother, could not obviously suffice. His generosity was such that on one occasion when he had purchased a new turn-out which an acquaintance of his who could hardly be called a friend of his, greatly praised in his presence he quietly sent the horse and the carriage to this gentleman's stable, and when the latter was astonished to find them there on his return home, father's only explanation was that he himself did not like the turn-out and since his friend did, what else could he do but send them to him? Such lavish generosity was not at first paid for by father's estate for the head of the family would have nothing to do with such extravagance. But the moment mother came to know of her husband's financial difficulties she pawned her jewellery and sent the money to him. These jewels were released from pawn only on his death when his estate had to be heavily mortgaged to pay off his debts. Our eldest uncle was in favour of a sale of some part of the estate outright in order to save the interest charges; but mother resolutely put her foot down and would not part with a single acre, saying that her children must inherit the entire property of their father and must have no occasion to blame their mother for sequestering any portion of it through a woman's inability to manage it. What she had resolved to do she accomplished and all the landed property we had inherited was intact when the youngest of us, which happened to be myself came of age. It was we ourselves who sold it off, partly to pay off the mortgage of father's debts, and partly to pay off the debts incurred by Shrukat over my education at Oxford, and partly also to pay our way during our long internment when only a meagre allowance was paid to us by Government. And I must add if mother was glad she had kept every bit of the estate intact during our minority, she was gladder still that we parted with every bit of it ourselves just sixty years after our grandfather had received some of it for assisting the British in the hour of their need.

How she managed to bring up her six little children and how she, an uneducated *pardah* lady, as education is understood in these days, managed to educate us better than our educated and richer uncles educated their own children, is a remarkable story which it is not through egotism that I would like to relate. That, however, I reserve for another occasion, only adding here that this miracle was not accomplished without personal privations that would do credit to a hermit living in a cave. It is not, therefore, egotism that has suggested this tribute to a mother's memoir, but the sense of a heavy debt that can never be paid off though it may in a feeble way be acknowledged in the way in which I am trying to do it in these columns.



Appeal or Party Tactics?

WE recommenced our career with a strong indictment of the terrorism of Government in Bengal in resorting to an extensive use of Regulation III of 1818 and in making and promulgating an Ordinance which is the cousin German of India's "Dora" and its would-be permanent substitute the Rowlatt Acts, and our indictment lost none of its force by reason of the fact that every statement which we made about the manner in which we apprehended these extraordinary powers would be used against persons innocent of all crime was illustrated and supported by our own experience of both Regulation III and of "Dora." We have every sympathy with the Swaraj Party against whom the recent repression of Government is really aimed. In No-Change quarters we are already suspected by reason of the way in which the editor of this journal tried, and tried successfully, to make

every possible accommodation for the Swaraj Party within the ranks of Non-Co-operators, even though it was clear as daylight that it was rebelling against Non-Co-operation as understood by Mahatma Gandhi and the major portion of Congressmen. To-day also we give the fullest publicity to Swarajists' appeal to the Country which Pandit Motilal Nehru, the General Secretary of the Party has sent to us for publication. But we consider it to be our duty to warn the Swarajist Party itself as well as the country against the consequences of such party tactics.

We have already admitted "the hollowness of the official professions that the Ordinance is not aimed at the Swaraj Party" and we too would appeal to the men and women of India to rally round the Party." But we do not agree that what that astute lawyer, Pandit Motilal Nehru, has addressed to the country is merely an appeal for help to a political party in distress when it is being assailed unscrupulously not for its faults but for its very virtues and is not "in the nature of propaganda" against any other political party as its author would have us believe. We remember the occasion when the late Lord Morley once commenced a speech of his on India as the Secretary of State for it by saying that very often a party attack was delivered with a preface in which the assailant disclaimed all feeling of partisanship. His Lordship was wise enough not to take such disclaimers on their face value, and India, too would be most unwise if she mistook the obvious party tactics of Pandit Motilal.

Had the No-Changers boldly disobeyed Mahatma Gandhi and resorted to Civil Disobedience immediately on his arrest, the country would have been spared this wretched and long drawn feud between those who sought entry into the Councils and those who remained true to the principles and policy of Non-Co-operation and disdained to enter them. But if the Swarajists were weak, the No-Changers were still weaker and the only answer they could give to a country expectant of their lead was the appointment of the Civil Disobedience Committee which was a roving Commission intended to make the obvious obscure. Government had long been used to practise this dodge whenever public agitation had assumed serious proportions and it was considered expedient to delay the redress of a grievance and yet take the sting out of the grievance. It was now the turn of the opponents of Government to perpetuate a fraud upon the public and the meandering scheme of Civil Disobedience Committee lazily moved on from province to province and finally lost itself in the sands without reaching the sea into which it looked as if it would fall. It was wholly sterile, except for the "Virgin birth" of the Council entry question. At Gaya, the No-Changers administered a defeat to the President of the Session, Deshbandhu Das. But that defeat was not crushing enough, and when those who sought Council entry did not succeed in carrying the Congress with them, they became open rebels.

This was the situation when the Congress met again in special session at Delhi. The mistakes made in Bengal in the elections led to the almost total exclusion of No-Changers from the delegates of that province but this was inevitable, and out of the four arbitrators that reluctantly gave the decision against the No-Changers, there were no less than three who shared the No-Change creed. This made the verdict of the Special Session a little doubtful but we believe had it come to a division and all No-Changers had given the Swarajists battle the No-Changers would have still won. But precisely the same consideration that have moved Mahatma Gandhi to-day to refuse to give battle to the Swarajists had moved several No-Changers even then to avoid a division. It may be mentioned that even then the Swarajists only wanted that the Congress should become responsible for their activities in the Councils and appoint a committee of its own to control their Council activity. An amendment to this effect was being pressed by Smt. Vithalbhai Patel but he was kept down almost by main force—of course, in a friendly way and the compromise that was effected did not compromise in the

least the principles and convictions of the No-Changers. All that they did was to recognise that the party of the Swarajists interpreted Non-Co-operation to include Council-entry and they decided not to press the acceptability of this interpretation by the majority of the Congress to a division as at Gaya where they had won after a bitter fight. The Swarajists were obdurate and surrendered nothing, for the renunciation of Mr. V. J. Patel's amendment was no serious renunciation. It was the No-Changers who surrendered for the sake of unity and it is they who are being asked by Pandit Motilal Nehru to surrender again to-day. But then they had only surrendered for the time being their right to oppose the propaganda of the Swarajists at the polls by their own propaganda against Council-entry. Many a No-Changer and particularly a band of five young men from Madras never forgave those No-Changers that had made this surrender. Pandit Motilal when he wants the whole country to become Swarajist does not seem to appreciate in the least the position of Mahatma Gandhi who is making a much bigger surrender to-day in recognising the Council activities of the Swarajists as those of a wing of the Congress and on behalf of the Congress. How the No-Changers who strained at a goat at Delhi would swallow this camel at Belgaum it is not easy to prophesy and yet all that Pandit Motilal Nehru had to say about this surrender of the Mahatma, forced on him by the narrowness and obduracy of the Swarajists who have given him no peace ever since he went to prison and none since he came out of it, is that "Mahatmaji has given his blessings to the Swaraj Party, and entrusted it with responsibility of carrying on on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation all work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures. The Swaraj Party feels happy and proud in assuming this responsibility." If the leaders of the Swaraj Party who are the authors of this precious document had a proper sense of gratitude they would not have indulged in such glib self-complacency. In stead of being happy and proud they should have been humbled by the large-hearted generosity of the Mahatma and would have imitated the great sacrifice he has made for the sake of unity and peace by refraining at least from making any further party demands from the country.

We regret we have to say that just as so many No-Changers failed to recognise the needs of the situation at Delhi, so the Mahatma himself failed to recognise the needs of the situation at Juhu. He should never have put forward at Ahmadabad a demand for the exclusion of those who have entered the Council from the District, Provincial and All-India Congress Committees nor should he have tried to penalise through the All-India Congress Committee which had not the requisite constitutional authority, those who failed to spin two thousand yards of yarn per month. The Mahatma realised his mistake before the All-India Congress Committee meeting was over and made ample amends for his previous inexorableness by making every concession that the Swarajists could desire. This should have been answered by a gesture which could have been called graceful if not generous but the only answer that came from the Swarajists ranks was the impudent buffoonery of Sjt. Paranjpye of Berar. Instead of indignantly repudiating his insolence, Pandit Motilal Nehru remained silent, and Deshbundhu Das although he feebly said he did not agree with all that his Berar "follower" had said, was so overjoyed at hearing from the whips of his party that he could snatch a victory, that he sought to beat Mahatma Gandhi in a division over the inanity of his Gopi Nath Saha resolution. So far as his earlier declaration in moving his amendment was concerned all sympathised with him, and it was but right that he should stand by the resolution which his province had passed when the Government threatened a prosecution. But it was quite another thing to be lashed by the reports of the whips and to try to administer the defeat to so generous an opponent if opponent he could be called as the Mahatma.

What happened after the All-India Congress Committee Meeting at Ahmadabad and still more what the Mahatma has done at Calcutta

amply justify what was done at Delhi and at Coconada. But it at Coconada the No-Changers, more certain of victory than they were at Delhi, were spoiling for a fight, it was the Swarajists who, encouraged by the happenings at Ahmadabad, were ready for battle when the Viceroy threw his bomb. Whatever one may say of such tactics before that event, one cannot but stand amazed at their inaptitude in forcing surrender after surrender upon the Mahatma and his staunch followers just when they need him and his army to fight another and a more relentless enemy of theirs. They make no secret of it that they need the leadership of the Mahatma and yet they are doing their best to crush in him every particle of zeal for their cause and to deprive his band of followers of the morale which an army needs more than the materiel even in modern more mechanical warfare. The Mahatma's zeal for righteous cause as we believe that of the Swarajists to be, not even the obdurate Berar and Maharashtra wing of the Swarajists can crush. But even if the No-Changers accept his lead and surrender once more as we call upon them in the interest of the country to do, it is too much to demand from poor human nature that they will retain much zest in fighting for such selfish allies.

We agree with Pandit Motilal Nehru that "the time when it was enough to give silent support to the party is gone by" and "the great moment in the life of nation has come." But that is no reason why any one who is convinced of the futility of the Councils and the lack of constructive work in the programme of the Swaraj Party should enter the former or join the latter. The party has welcomed all and sundry "to active support and co-operation in the shape of money," and we trust Pandit Motilal's appeal to the rich "to give generously of their plenty" and "to the poor to give their humble mite" will meet with generous and ready response. We pray even more heartily that his appeal "to both to join the army of fighters for the country's cause" will be rewarded with ample success. But the fight will have to be fought mainly through Civil Disobedience for which constructive work is the most essential preliminary and not only is the joining of the Swaraj Party by all parties and individuals is not "the only fitting answer to the action of the government" but it is not even a "fitting answer." The Swarajists are in our view a sick people and we should do all in our power to nurse and to nourish them. But there is no sense in their desiring that those that attend on the patient should become as ill as he happens to be himself. In fact, it will impress the Government and the world at large all the more if those who are not Swarajists remained No-Changers as they are and yet gave Swarajists every encouragement and support in their power. It was a Frenchman who said, "Sir I disagree heartily with every word of what you say, but I shall fight to the last drop of my blood for your right to say it." This is the kind of toleration and assistance that we desire the No-Changers and other political parties in India to extend to the Swarajists. But if the Swarajists are not content with this and permit their Mahatma and Berar tail to wag them, we fear they will only spoil the chances of Mahatma Gandhi to bring round the No-Changers to make the surrender he proposes. The action of the Government had certainly "simplified the political situation," but the Swarajists are through their own inordinate greed making it complex and confused. Providence had certainly given them an excellent opportunity but it is in accents of political greed and rapacity that Pandit Motilal asks "Shall we not make the best use of the opportunity that Providence has given us?" It is certainly not the best use of the opportunity that they are making but the worst use of it when they are asking that all available forces should be concentrated not on the position of the enemy which we must counter-attack but upon enlarging a political party when none should think of party and all should think of the nation.



Two Sunsets: A Short Story.

She was so young and pretty and so altogether inconsequent. She met life fearlessly, and with an unreasoning faith in everything and everybody. Somehow she just effervesced with life, and only to talk to her or even look at her reminded one somehow of spring. This was the girl whom David Headley had married, he being a very quiet man himself, added to which he was double his wife's age. They had sailed immediately for India, travelling straight up-country to a remote district where they never saw any one for months together. At first the novelty surrounding her new life was all-sufficing. She rode, she hunted, she sailed—generally alone—for after a time she discovered that her husband never really cared for any of these things. His work was all-absorbing, and at times it necessitated his making long journeys into the forests. On these occasions she would beg to accompany her husband; but, as he said, and truly, "it was no life for a woman." This state of affairs had now been going on for over two years, during which time exactly five people had come that way, stayed a few days and passed on. The strain of this loneliness was beginning to tell on Beryl. She had had fever several times lately and she felt her interest in life flagging.

One day she said "David do try and take leave and let us get away for a bit. It's so lonely here. If only we could see people it's so dull." He looked up from his books and papers in surprise. "Dull! Why, what more do you want my dear. You have your horses and dogs, your own boat—heaps of books and a piano." "Yes, I know, but in spite of all this I'm lonely—you are away so much. Let me go with you sometimes, to break the monotony. Do David," and with this she got up and came to his side.

"My dear Beryl you ask impossibilities. You would only get over tired and get fever or something. I'll see what I can do, but don't worry me now. I'm busy: these reports must be got off to-morrow before I start to Sundrapore—and—but there—you want a tonic. You'll soon pick up now the cold weather is here." And, as though the whole matter were settled, he resumed his work and she felt that her appeal would never be given a second thought.

Beryl wondered as she walked out of the room how it had ever come about that she had married David. Why should she, such a lover of life and everything young be tied to a man of her husband's age. How had it all happened? Everything seemed so indistinct and hazy now. She remembered her father had talked of his own losses, and probable poverty, then the next thing she remembered was this tall distinguished looking man taking notice of her and telling her that if she married him she could have as many horses and dogs as she liked. Several old ladies told her she was a very lucky girl, and when the wedding presents came rolling in she certainly thought it was nice to be made such a fuss of. "If only Eric were home, so that I could tell him all about it?" she had said. But Eric Barner had just sailed for Egypt with his regiment. Without being real cousins these two were connected, and as their homes had been practically side by side, they had grown up together, though he was three years her senior. He was a good-looking boy and clean-souled withal. Many jolly times they had together as children. Letters had passed between them now and again, but the correspondence had flagged latterly owing to Beryl's "having nothing to write about," as she described it. At last a day arrived when the dak brought a letter from him saying he had got leave and was coming up to see her.

It was a long journey, over five days, the last thirty miles being accomplished by riding. Beryl intended to ride out and meet him, but unfortunately, David Headley had been obliged to start more or less suddenly on one of his tours. So there was no available nag for her to ride since two were laid up for the moment.

It was sunset when they met again after three years' absence. A red glow was shedding its light over everything. The palm trees,

whether near, or far away against the sky-line, looked like sentinels set to guard these two young lives. As he rode up and caught sight of her she formed a pretty picture—one he was never likely to forget. There she stood, surrounded by a glory of fiery splendour lighting up her lovely golden hair, which looked an almost copper hue, such as artists love. His first impression was "How gloriously beautiful she's grown."

Just then she turned her head and saw him coming towards her. "Oh Eric, at last! I thought you'd lost your way, my note explained why I couldn't come and meet you. However, here you are. Have a drink, you must be so hot and tired."

"Thanks, little girl. I say, how ripping you look. It is jolly seeing you again. Where's the boss? Not back yet?"

"No," she said wearily "he's so much away. He went yesterday and there is no saying how long he will be gone. I hope you won't be horribly dull."

"Heavens no, but you must find it beastly lonely at times."

"Oh, I'm used to it now. David says the forests are no place for a woman."

"By Jove, I should think not indeed."

As the daylight faded and the full moon rose they sat on and on talking of olden days, forgetting almost that Time had not put back his magic finger for them. Many a merry laugh rang out as they chattered on, and it was only the bearer's approach to take in the glasses which reminded them it was time to dress for dinner.

Beryl wore a soft white dress of clinging material which showed the lines and curves of her beautiful figure to perfection. "What a child she looks," he thought as he came out into the verandah.

During dinner they discussed plans for the morrow. David's two daks would be back, so they could ride. She would take him to some of her favourite haunts.

Next morning Beryl had a chat from her husband to the effect that he could not return for a week or ten days. As a matter of fact he was gone more than a fortnight during which Time ceased to exist for the two young people. They rode, they shot, they boated, they fished, oblivious of the net which Cupid was slowly but surely weaving around their Fates. In looking back years hence Eric blamed herself for being such a fool as not to have foreseen the inevitable. Alas! it is easy to be wise after the event.

In due time David returned. "How old he looks," thought Beryl. Eric thought the same, and, looking from one to the other they resembled father and daughter more than husband and wife. When, too, Eric realised what her life consisted of when David was at home, his whole soul went out in pity to her. Her loneliness was scarcely more in his absence than when he was on the spot for when he was not travelling he was shut up in his study with books and papers and was quite unapproachable.

The days therefore went on much the same for Eric and Beryl after David's return. Her husband noticed she looked better and brighter, and that her languor had disappeared, as he told himself he knew it would, with the coming of the cold weather. O foolish man! Anyone else could see that the girl's improved health and spirits were the result of congenial companionship, her mind and soul were simply expanding in its sunlight. For the first time since her marriage she was leading a natural life for a girl of her age. Cut off, as she had been by her alliance with a middle aged man and deprived of all society by reason of their isolated home, it was no wonder that a high-spirited girl such as Beryl should have moped in such a contracted atmosphere. There had been times when she had longed for a child, but all things considered she was glad now that she had none.

One day, as David was sitting in his room, he overheard the servants talking in the verandah they being under the impression

at the Sahib was out. Though as a rule he took no notice of native's jabberings his attention was arrested by the conversation he caught snatches of. He started up. Could it be possible that Beryl and Eric were in love with each other? No, absurd! She was his wife that in itself was an all-sufficient argument. Anyhow he would watch

Now it so happened that the very morning of this occurrence an incident took place which was to alter the lives of all three of them. Beryl and Eric had been riding quietly along, when suddenly a jackal appeared and they instantly gave chase. When they were going her pony took a false step and came down. He pulled up immediately, and as he saw her lying there just as she had fallen, his heart stood still. "O God, if she were dead!" In that moment he knew that he loved her more than anything in the world that he had always loved her ever since he was a boy. He took her gently into his arms, and as she lay inert in his embrace, he poured forth the tumult of his impassioned and suddenly awakened love. For a moment she opened her eyes, but to close them again while he continued to shower on her his torrent of adoration. As a matter of fact she was only badly stunned by the fall and it was not long before she returned to consciousness. While yet in a semi-dazed condition she heard Eric's confession of love, and forgetful altogether of David's existence her heart beat wildly and his very touch thrilled her. She just murmured "I am so happy" and put her hand in his. Eric, usually level-headed, was completely thrown off his balance by the accident or he would never let himself go. He cared for her much too much to bring unhappiness into her life.

At last she pulled herself together and had sufficiently recovered to rise. Still trembling she leaned on his arm for support and tried to walk. Suddenly coming to a standstill she gasped "David! you here?"

"And pray why not Madam? Doesn't it please you that I have found out your little games—your cursed unfaithfulness? Now I understand your long rides now I understand many things." With every word he spoke his rage increased and he continued to pour abuse on her while she and Eric stood paralysed with the suddenness and injustice of his attack.

Beryl had never been conscious of having been unfaithful to her husband, until in her dazed condition after the fall, she had heard Eric's voice, as in a dream, uttering words which now she could never forget. Eric was the first to recover himself. Perhaps he chose his words unwisely in his haste. "I alone am to blame for your wife's innocence, but if you talk to her like that I think it's time she had a protector."

"Take her, you are welcome," almost shrieked David. "I've done with her, but I'll never divorce her, so she can never be more than your mistress. She shall never enter my house again."

Here was a catastrophe. Eric by his mad impetuosity, had ruined the life of the woman he loved. Even were she free he could not afford to marry as a subaltern and he could not take her down to the regiment in any other capacity than that of his legal wife. What he now had to consider was how could he best spare her the disgrace which he, by his thoughtless folly, had laid her open to. Had he friends she could go to until he could find out her wishes? Would her father take her back? All these thoughts passed in quick succession through his mind. The first thing surely was to get her safely somewhere where she could rest after her accident.

"Your wife has had a bad fall she needs rest, she should go to bed immediately."

"Yes, a likely story. I'm sure you'd like me to believe it. She may return to my house to fetch her things and then she shall never

enter it again. And, you sir, begone, and never let me see your face again in this world or it will be the worse for you."

There was no alternative. With one wild look at Beryl, Eric mounted his horse, returned to the bungalow, told his bearer to pack up, and before even Headley had come back he was gone. He left a note however to be given by his bearer to Beryl. In it he wrote a few simple, penitent words, adding that he would wait at the station until he could hear what her wishes were.

Next day they met. Beryl was still stunned by the shock she had received, and Eric seeing it, would not take advantage of it. She had made up her mind to go home, so he said he would make all the necessary arrangements for her, meanwhile she should stay in a hotel in Bombay. Before sailing she wrote telling her husband that he had wronged her that no word of love had ever passed her lips knowingly to Eric, and that she had never been unfaithful to him. No reply ever came and every scrap of affection she had ever felt for her husband died ere she left India's shores.

Some years later, while she was living quietly with her father in Somersetshire, a letter came from India in shaky hand-writing. "Come, I am dying. I wronged you, forgive me.—David." Seven long years, the best of her life she had suffered a gross injustice from this man. Why should she go to him? She took up the letter and read it again. Yes, by the very next mail she would go. She felt sorry for him, she knew what it must have cost him to acknowledge himself in the wrong. She wondered where Eric was, for she had strictly kept her self-imposed vow made when she said goodbye to him on the boat, which prevented his ever communicating with her in any way, and he could but acquiesce. "If ever I am free," she had said, "I promise to let you know."

How dare she think of him now when she was going to see her dying husband! "God forgive me," she whispered when she realised what she was doing.

Tired and weary she arrived at the bungalow some three weeks later, only to learn that her husband had died two days earlier. He had received her cable though and had died in happy expectation of their meeting. A long and painful letter awaited Beryl's perusal, full of remorse for the past. In it he told her he hoped Eric and she would marry and that he had left her very well provided for. Beryl did not stay a moment longer than was necessary in the spot which was so full of sad recollections for her. She felt she must let Eric know. She had heard during the voyage where the regiment was stationed. How she trembled as she wrote. Sheet after sheet was torn up. Finally she sent just a few bald blank words. "David is dead. I am staying here. Beryl." Thus the silence of the past was broken for Eric. On receiving it he was beset himself with anxiety, hopes and fears. He wired immediately "Coming." Two days later it was again the sunset hour, and he remembered another sunset seven weary years before. In answer to his enquiries for Headley Mem Sahib, he was told "Yes, she was there, but was very ill."

Never mind, he must see her, and after some difficulty he was admitted into the room where she lay. The last rays of the sun glinted around her hair forming a sort of halo of burnished gold. The doctor drew him aside. "Yes, it had been cholera, and unfortunately her strength had not rallied and it was only a question of time. Certainly he might approach her if he was not nervous."

He came to her bed side. She opened her eyes, and a smile of recognition lit up her face. She feebly stretched out her hand and whispered "At last," the very greeting she'd given him seven years earlier, and with one fleeting sigh her spirit left her.

E. C.

A Little About the Riffians

The extraordinary awakening amongst the Riffs and their consequent success in peace and war serves to emphasise a great historical truth. Retrogression, when it reaches a certain limit, must of a necessity turn to progression. But in the case of the Riff—this last stronghold of the Barbary States—it is important to remember that unlike other Muslim Principalities, the causes of their downfall or the political inactivity in the Riff was not due to any fault of the Barbars themselves. Other interested European Powers, especially Spain, and in a lesser degree perhaps France as well, had a great deal to do with the backward condition of things in that country. But the word "backward" is used here as an unavoidable term, signifying nothing more than the fact that, according to the prevalent, though grotesquely mistaken, ideas of the Europeans, the East of to-day possesses nothing worthwhile. To say that because our thoughts and actions do not tally with the ideas of European civilization, we are devoid of all goodness, culture and progress, is like endeavouring to disprove the existence of light in a burning candle simply because it does not come from an oil-lamp. Even the efforts of these Riffs, small as they may seem, are sufficient to disprove this, as a passion for independent national existence has all along characterised the Barbars of Riff. The true Riff country has never been subdued, and even the efforts of that great Moroccan Sultan, Hussan, to collect taxes have been fruitless. The growing Power of these warriors seemed at one time to menace even Morocco, and also the Eastern regions encompassing it.

During the period between 1902 and 1906 European intrigue had materially disturbed the quiet atmosphere of the Riff. El-Roghi raided the country, but the Riffians not only repulsed his attack but also dislodged him from Zeluan. El-Roghi having thus failed "to destroy his kind" under the orders of others, the Great Powers hurried to Algieras in 1906 to share the spoils of North-West African States. By virtue of the Spanish occupation of Ceuta and Melilla, it was decided to let Spain lord it over the Riff country, while France had the great "misfortune" to act as the protector of Morocco. The frontiers were then definitely fixed.

From the very beginning, there was no love lost between the Spaniards and the people in the Riff country, but towards the end of 1919 Spain decided to settle the differences no longer with intrigue or persuasion, but through sheer force of military strength. The steps taken in that direction were perhaps over-bold, for the Spanish High Command thought it as well to beat the Riffian at his own game and guerilla warfare war well under way by 1921. Success, however, did not attend the Spanish arms and some military experts observed that having regard to the fact that as the Riffians are past-masters in the art of guerilla war, a frontal attack by Sea in an organised manner would have been certain to secure victory for the Spaniards. But that also was too sanguine. There are other factors also involved in warfare which count more than mere armament and the number of troops. A modern army needs so much, and the importance of transport, rations and communications can hardly be exaggerated. The Riff army can fight without such encumbrances as overload a European force. The dictum of Napoleon that "an army marches on its belly" is not as true with regard to an army of the Riffians as with regard to the Spaniards, for in the Riff every man is a born soldier, hard as nails, used to the extreme degree of privation, and he demands no pay. With the Riffians the call of war for the defence of their country is so urgent that petty matters of mere animal comfort never worry them. Even boys and old men do duty and are used to guard the coastline and attend to public safety. They use their own rifles and not unoften exhaust their small individual stock of ammunition without making any demand on their leaders. Dry bread is all that is provided and it is considered quite sufficient.

But with the political resurrection of the Riff country the name of Ghazi Syed Mohammad bin Abdul Kareem is pre-eminently associated. It was he who called upon his countrymen to sink their differences in their struggle against the enemy, and various Qabyle bowing before his masterful personality have attained a unity which is

one of the most astonishing achievements within living memory. As an immediate effect of this a great Spanish debacle of Annual in July 1921 materialized, when victorious Barbars reached almost the very gates of Melilla. That victory marked the final collapse of Spanish power, and ever since that Ghazi Mohammed bin Abdul Kareem has become a national hero.

But he is more than that, for he possesses that singular gift of leadership with which perhaps only one man is endowed in the life-time of a country. Sitting in his whitewashed room at Ajdire, within easy reach of the guns of the Spanish fortress of Alhucemas, this unpretentious and courteous Moorish gentleman—and not a fanatical brigand of the hills, as he is alleged to be, dispenses justice, directs campaigns, and runs Republic, on fairly good constitutional lines. His Ministers are as devoted to their work as he is himself, and for sixteen hours official work is done each day.

With all these facts before us it is unthinkable that this brave band of Muslim warriors can ever lick the dust before "the Great Armies of Spain;" nevertheless it seems incumbent upon us as Easterners not to regard the Riff struggle with indifference any longer. The Riffians have suffered and are suffering so much to retain their national liberty which is their birth-right and the denial of which can never be justified. Our sympathy and even help must be extended to these people, for the brotherhood of man does not lose anything through geographical distance.

IKBAL ALI SHAH.

Anecdote.

Here is a story concerning Lord Charles Beresford, who was walking home one night with Lord Aylesford, when he insisted on stopping a small boy and bribing him with a sovereign to knock a policeman's helmet off. The sovereign changed hands and the youngster dashed at the nearest "bobby," knocked off his helmet, and fled.

But he was not quick enough, and was caught and hauled off to the station. His tempters followed and tried to explain matters.

"Who are you?" demanded the Inspector in charge. "I'm Lord Charles Beresford." The Inspector frowned and turned to the other. "And who are you?" he asked. "I'm Lord Aylesford," was the reply. Then the Inspector turned from the two men in evening dress to the ragged and down-at-heel boy. "What's your name?" he said. "Oh, I'm the Prince of Wales!" was the retort.

Another entertaining story also concerns Lord Charles Beresford, and in this case the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward, was present in person. The Prince went with Lord Charles to call on a friend, and the latter was left to wait in the street outside. A sailor happened to pass with a parrot which he wished to sell. The two got into conversation, and after a time started to wrangle. Then the Prince returned.

"Nice bird, sir," said Lord Charles. "Grand," said the Prince, turning to the sailor, who by this time was thoroughly "fed up." "Does it talk well?"

"If it didn't talk better than you," said the sailor disgustedly, "I'd wring its neck."

Bismarck and the Kaiser went to Rome and the Emperor was received by the Pope. When the Kaiser was ushered in, the door was immediately shut in Bismarck's face. The statesman hammered on it, yelling: "Open!" "Open!"

"You must not do that," said an onlooker.

"But I am Count Bismarck!"

"That," said the other, "explains, but does not excuse your conduct."



A page from the Past.

[WE had promised in our first issue to reprint in each of the following numbers of *The Comrade* an extract or extracts from an old issue of fourteen years ago. We commence to redeem that promise from to-day, but instead of reproducing any portion of editorial matter from the more serious section of the first issue of *The Comrade*, we prefer to reprint the *Gup* section mainly because of the brilliant contribution entitled "The Patwari" of which the gifted author was the late Shaikh Wilayat Ali, B.A., (Aliq.) of Barabanki, known to his numerous friends as "Bambooque." We have already given expression to our feelings to-day when we miss him so greatly, and our readers will share our regrets when they read his first contribution to *The Comrade* of January 14, 1911. Ed. *Comrade*.]

The Debut.

THE world is too much in earnest. Leagues and Congresses, Conferences and Committees, all gather together to distil collective wisdom out of scattered brains and have a saturnalia of high seriousness, all for the benefit of a Government, which like Gallio cares for none of these things. Honourable Members of Councils, tired of perpetual questioning, resolving, and legislating, transform themselves in right earnest, and appear on the stage again in the *Rat Masque* of a Deputation, to repeat for the seven hundredth time the words of wisdom uttered far more piquantly on the preceding six hundred and ninety-nine occasions. Title-holders, Talukdars, and leaders generally sing the siren song of Loyalty, and the Supreme Government, not desiring to be left in the lurch, retaliates by taking them seriously.

Where will it all end? Work at such high pressure cannot long be continued. The strain is too terrible. It cannot last. And it is the duty of every true Imperialist to save the Empire from some great catastrophe such as nose-bleeding. *Gup* is the paracea we have found out for all the ills that an unwieldy empire is heir to. The remedy is simple and harmless like all quack medicines. There will neither be cupping nor bleeding. No operation, however painless, will be performed. *Gup* will only take you out of the diocese of Imperial Politics just for a dream while. Every week or thereabouts it will chloroform you and make you insensible to the fever and the fret of an all-absorbing public life. For one short quarter of an hour every week you will forget that such things as the Nagri Pracharini Sabha and the Urdu Conference, the *Bengalee* and the *Observer*, the Partition of Bengal and the Unity of Modern Behar ever existed.

Gup is a combination of negations. It has no politics, no religion, almost no morality. It has no race or colour. This something made up of nothings is frankly hedonistic. It lives to enjoy life and to make others enjoy it. It will please you and please itself. But it excludes from its category of clients all such as cannot see a joke. Is not the Legislative Council ge enough?

You have heard of the Camel that was sold for a rupee but had to be purchased along with a Cat that cost five hundred. The writers for *Comrade* represent the cheap and nasty Camel. We are the costly Cat! But we think the dullness of the *Comrade* justified the "tacking," for only *Gup* can bribe you to put up with its *Comrade*. It is the sugar-coating, the jam after castor-oil, Heaven after Purgatory, a Khan Bahadurship after the loyalty of a lifetime. And in spite of its dull mate, it is cheap at four annas a week. A soda-water bottle costs no less, and *Gup* will provide you with a dispensation once a week to take your whisky neat.

A word to contributors. Like all mendicant societies we announce that small contributions will be thankfully received. No humourist need despair. No joke need be born to blush unseen.

For advertisers this is the best medium. Being devoid of truth itself, *Gup* respects mendacity in others!

The Patwari.

THE Patwari is a species of human biped presenting peculiarities and complexities of moral texture and physical constitution which no student of sociology can afford to ignore. He is the culmination of an evolutionary process, and presents in their highest perfection some of the imperceptibly developed instincts and qualities of his remote progenitor, the Ape. His moral and intellectual agility, his quick apprehension, his sensitiveness to danger, his resourcefulness, are his proud legacy from a simian origin. He is a bewildering realisation of the promise which the Ape held out.

In the village, the Patwari is a veritable power. He is a self-locomotive "bundle of right and duties" with a blatant consciousness of their possession. He is feted and flattered by Zamindars, dreaded and placated by tenants. As between the Zamindar and the tenant, he invariably befriends the former, who keeps him in humour by periodical financial understandings. To the Zamindar he is a sort of private accountant, and has the right of defalcating his money without seriously offending him. Generally his defalcations are so artistically accomplished that the man of many acres

has absolutely no fault to find with his accounts. The Patwari knows that Arithmetic is the weak point of his employer and by a curious process of subtractions and additions he secures his end without imperilling his reputation for honesty. But Arithmetic is the science in which the Patwari himself excels. Results, humanly speaking impossible, are possible to the Patwari. I have a suspicion that the Apes are all mathematicians. How else would the Patwari's proficiency be explicable?

He is also the Legal Adviser of the villagers. All those who have a grievance, real or supposed, resort to him for advice. As a conscientious public servant, he always refers them to judicial arbitrament. He sets about creating differences where none exist, not from motives of personal gain, but from a genuine desire to enrich the revenues of the State. He cares not what the Supreme Government thinks of it, but personally he is a firm believer in *divide et impera*. In almost all cases, criminal, civil, or revenue, most of which owe their initiation to his advice, he is an indispensable witness. He must appear for either party, and disappoint the party relying most on his evidence. Before the case in which the Patwari appears as a witness is actually called up, he is the object of deep solicitude on the part of the party producing him. His unfatigable, indiscriminate, and elastic stomach is entertained with all sorts of edibles procurable within the compound of the court. His most extravagant whim is satisfied with incredible alacrity.

When in the court, his statement is made with an air of impartiality which would do credit to a Judge of the High Court. His books are a source of great anxiety to him in the course of his examination, and unless forced to refer to them, he will answer all questions from his memory without reference to their mischievous contents. The Patwari prefers his memory to his official books, for their contents cannot equally elastically satisfy the exigencies of varying situations. They are dull insipid, and unimaginative, like the party relying on them.

The Patwari is a miracle-worker. His pen, which he pries from morning till evening, works wonders that would do credit to an average prophet. By a stroke of his facile *markul* pen, which sometimes takes refuge behind his ear out of sheer exhaustion from its ceaseless operations, he transforms a tenancy of some years' standing into a sub-tenancy that may be determined any moment; ejects A from the possession of a plot of land without the use of that physical force which the Zamindar has to employ, and into his place pitchforks B, who has no semblance of title or claim. But his most successful miracle is the one in which he changes the nature of the tenures and diminishes and increases areas of land at will. The unfortunate victim of these alterations and changes remains totally unaware of them up to the last moment, and in most cases gets his first awakening when he puts the Patwari into the witness-box. The Patwari then makes his rude disclosures, undaunted by the cynical smile of the Judge or the frowns of the aggrieved party. The Patwari thus compels the recognition of his pen as a formidable weapon. What sword could be mightier?

The Patwari is a philosopher. He is a sort of Stoic, ever cool, collected, and practical. He has a philosophy of his own, though its exact nature is enveloped in as thick and impenetrable a mystery as his own character. Whenever he appears as a witness in a court, the presiding officer greets him with a look of contemptuous incredulity. But he manages to get through his cross-examination, with its inconvenient questions and insulting insinuations, with an appearance of injured virtue and outraged pride, which is well worth observing.

The Patwari is very fond of his *naryal* pipe. Next to his pen, it is his dearest and proudest possession. He is seldom without it. Eliminate the pen and *naryal* from the Patwari and he is reduced to a piteous spectacle. He is then a king without a sceptre, a soldier minus the sword. The pipe is his constant companion both in and out of his house. He does not draw upon his purse for the supply of the materials of this unpretentious luxury. Like the rest of the Home Department, this branch is also looked after by the ryots of the village. This makes the pipe all the dearer to its owner. Pulling at it with the ease and familiarity of an inveterate smoker, with his official books lying open before

him, with his pen behind the ear, ever ready to pounce upon them and take any liberty with them which the instinct or the caprice of its owner may dictate, the Patwari looks a superb figure, and may well inspire awe in the cultivators sitting in a circle round his *charpai*, and watching the mysterious operations of his formidable pen.

He is black, sometimes hopelessly and irremediably so. He often strikes one as an embodied protest against the unimpeachable artistic excellence with which terrestrial opinion credits the Divine Creator. For that extremely obtrusive and superfluous growth, which people for want of a better term call beard, the Patwari has no preference. Instead, he is proud of his moustachis, and rightly so. He is dyspeptic, but has a pretty good appetite, particularly when his own purse remains unopened.

He is a good walker, but an indifferent rider. All the same, he is the discoverer of *kadam*, a jog-trot which deserves to be called *Patwari-chal*. He generally wears no clothes, the only luxury that he ordinarily permits himself is a *dhoti*. He has an *uchkan* to deck himself with when attending a court or presenting himself before a superior officer. But on these occasions he flaunts his finery with a ruthless offensiveness. One of my Patwari friends tells me that his aversion to trousers is based upon a hygienic principle. He wonders how the æsthetic conscience of the present day tolerates an anachronism like the *dhobi*, for like Monkey Brand, the Patwari has a conscientious objection to washing clothes.

The Patwari does not laugh. But Nature has not denied him the consolation of a smile. But the smile of the Patwari, like other things belonging to him, is peculiar. His is a conscious and triumphant smile. It suggests the consciousness of the accomplishment of a veritable feat. I would pay anything in the world to see a Patwari laugh; but I fear he will never stoop to such an undignified manifestation of his mental hilarity. He will content himself with an additional pull at his gurgling pipe, the while he smiles and strokes his moustachios. Weep he can, and with consummate art. When his superior officer or the court detects his fraud or mistake, he weeps with a profusion of sobs and wealth of tears which would move a heart of stone. In the words of Hazlitt, the Patwari is always "beside himself." He is always playing some part or other. You can never catch him "in a state of moral undress."

The Patwari is a true child of Nature. In him the primordial instinct of self-preservation is most acutely developed, so that all other instincts are partially crushed beneath its weight. With the Patwari the sole engrossing concern is how to get the maximum out of the world with a minimum of risk to himself. He has no ideal beyond the achievement of this end, no aspirations beyond leaving a few hundred rupees to his children. But for our knowledge of the Patwari, it would be a marvel of domestic economy that he supports a prolific family of ever-increasing daughters and sons on eight rupees a month, sends his sons to High Schools to become Tehsildars, and dowers his daughters with a few hundred rupees each. To his official superiors, the Patwari is a pliant, docile, meek, and ever-penitent creature. Before them he is taciturn, stupid, and dull. He has none of the volubility and rhetoric which mark his talk with the rest of the world. He would seldom open his mouth, except to heave a long-drawn sigh at his superior's reflection on his virtues or the accuracy of his records.

The dialect he speaks is a curious admixture of Urdu and Persian. In his old age he inevitably develops a tendency to misquote, and has the whole of Gulistan on the tip of his tongue to deluge one on the slightest provocation. He has passed the Vernacular Third Class, and is proud of his achievement. His head is full of verses, ill-understood, half-remembered, insipid, and stale, and he invokes them to his aid to impress his sceptical superior with the extent of his learning, or to complete the subjugation of a refractory cultivator.

The Patwari's artistic nature is opposed to all use of physical force, whether to punish an insult or to avenge a personal wrong. He has a positive horror of the Indian Penal Code, despite all its tempting general exceptions. To hear of the Patwari being charged with assault or causing simple hurt would surprise me more than to hear of the fallibility of the Pope, or a Tory admission of truth in Mr. Ure.

Such is the great Pillar of State, the Keystone of the Administration, the Keeper of the Conscience of the Supreme Government, and the Solid Foundation of the British Raj. Long live the Patwari! BAMBOOQUE.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
IN MOTHER'S MEMORY II	65	An Appeal and its End	70
VERNA-		A Warning ...	70
My Dream ...	67	LEADING ARTICLES	
LET A-TEEN		The Bombay Conference	71
To Subscribers ..	67	Egypt and Britain	71
Remittance with Order	67	THE MONUL MIDDLE-	
"The Wahabi Sultan"...	68	Lord Parnoor's Plea	71
The Congress President for		"Charak Manoeuvre"	
Belgaum ..	68	Repealed	67
The A. I. C. C. Meeting	68	Progress of League Inquiry	71
Economic Debility and its Cure	69	ISMET PASHA ON HIS	
The Economic Drain ...	69	STEWARTSHIP	71
Bond between Classes and		THE WAHABI SULTAN ..	71
Masses ...	69	ADVERTISEMENTS ...	70
The Higher and the Lower			
Roads ..	69		
No Surrender ..	70		

In Mother's Memory. II.

(BY MOHAMED ALI)

During her last illness, and only a couple of weeks before her death, mother was asked if she would not prefer to get shorter *kurtas* or shirts made for her now that she was not moving about, and the many creases of the long *khadder kurtas* she wore had to be smoothed away every now and then to make it comfortable for her to lie in bed. But she refused, and the refusal brought to light an incident that had happened just when father had died. In those days it was the fashion for Muslim ladies to wear *kurtis*, which were short sleeveless shirts, or rather blouses, and it was only old ladies who had been on a pilgrimage to the Hejaz that would occasionally substitute for these garments and the voluminous bifurcated skirts of Lucknow the long *kurtas* and trousers in imitation, more or less, of the fashions of Mecca and Medina. Mother, who had not yet been on a pilgrimage to these holy places, had got a couple of these *kurtas* made sometime ago, but had never worn them. On father's death she took one of them out; when she was about to put it on, an old lady of her family asked her to consider the implications of this change of garments. It was all very well for old women, who had lived their lives, and had gone for the Haj almost as the last great event in all their existence, and had practically renounced the world. But for a young woman of eight-and-twenty, who would in all probability marry again, if only for the sake of her children's upbringing, it was a

foolish fancy. So the old lady tried quietly to dissuade mother from adopting a fashion in dress that she could not keep up for long. What was mother's answer it was our sister who was privileged the other day to hear from mother's own lips. She told the old lady: "This long white *kurta*, dear mother, would now be taken off only on the *takhta*" the wooden board on which a Muslim's corpse is washed for the burial. That is why she preferred her long *kurtas* of *khadder* with all their rough creases, which hurt her frail bed-ridden body, to the shorter ones suggested by our sister, and it was only on the *takhta*, almost half-a-century after father's death, that this fashion had to be discarded for the shroud.

The Prophet had himself always married widows except once, when he married Hazrat Ayesha no doubt to establish the humane custom of widow re marriage, and good Musalmans always recommend to the young ladies of their family who are unfortunate enough to become widows so early in life to marry again. Mother's relations also pressed a second marriage upon her, and many of those who had seen her almost tearless on father's death felt sure she would re-marry before long. But she herself knew better than that. The cholera that had taken father away had not spared her son, our eldest brother living. The minute father passed away mother left his bedside, and went over to tend and nurse her son, because, as she used to tell us herself, she had done her duty by the dead, and she must thenceforward do her duty by the living. The loud lamentations in which the women of her time indulged on such occasions, and in which, in fact, many to this day indulge, did not seem to accord well with a sorrow that was too full and too deep for such outward expression. Besides, she was anxious to spare as much sorrow as possible to her children, and so she kept her own feelings in leash. That is why she appeared callous to those who remarked only her reticence, but who could not peep into the heart that was bursting with grief.

As a Muslim widow she could wear gold ornaments and silk. But it was only partly for the sake of the husband she lost that she discarded both, it was far more for the sake of her children. "How can I marry now?" she used to say. "I had but one husband before, and now I have six!" Apart from her love of God and the desire to seek His favour, the one motive power for all her actions thenceforward was the love she bore to her children, and the heavy weight of responsibility that she felt for their upbringing.

Muslim ladies see far more of the world from behind the veil than the Western world is ever likely to understand, and even the high *Zenana* walls of India do not entirely shut them up. Nevertheless, it is no easy matter for a Muslim widow in India to manage her property

or to look after her children's education. Father's death was a great handicap in our case; but worse still was the financial handicap; and it was this that engaged mother's attention before all else. She could not increase her financial resources, and gladly agreed to let our second uncle, Mahmud Ali Khan Sahib, look after our property. But she could curtail expenses, and promptly set about doing so. She would not, therefore, touch more than a third of the income from the estate for household expenses.

None of the effects, however, of this lowering of the scale of household expenditure were ever permitted to be felt by us, her children. I do not remember that we ever asked for anything that our cousins, the sons and daughters of our richer uncles, had, and were refused. In fact, we seemed to live better than they were doing, and many a time we purchased expensive enough things from the bazar and obtained mother's consent afterwards, by a little caressing and cajoling, and even an occasional and terribly effective menace of tears—a proceeding which would never have been tolerated by our uncles on the part of their children. Thus all the brunt of household economy had to be borne by mother, and it was always borne most cheerfully.

Her long white *kurta* and her *dopatta* or *scarf*, were made of coarse muslin which she would purchase at five or six yards for a rupee, whereas our own *kurta*s, *angrakhas* and *achkans* were made of much finer muslin or *jamdani* or *chikan* twice or three times as dear. For trousers she would use sober coloured *chheent* or *chintz* equally coarse and cheap, and she usually chose a pattern that her own maid-servants had already chosen before, so that they and she should appear dressed alike!

More than once we, who had, I fear, very insufficient regard for the equality preached by Islam and practised by early Muslims, remonstrated with her, and asked her to choose at least a different pattern of *chheent* to that selected by the servants, if she would not purchase cloth less cheap and coarse. But it was all in vain. Without ostentation she went on doing this all her life.

In fact, on one occasion she took advantage, with remarkable presence of mind, of this similarity in apparel, and passed off for her own maid-servant! A guest was once staying with our Hindu neighbour, whose house adjoined our sister's, and was occupying a room on the terrace. The wall surrounding this terrace was not very high, and although it was high enough to act ordinarily as a screen, it could not prevent any one who caught hold of it to lift himself up for a moment from catching a glimpse of the house below. A servant of this guest of our neighbour, being more curious than he should have been, used this wall to lift himself up from the ground, and was looking into our sister's house. As it happened, there was nobody out in the courtyard, but mother was just stepping into the door connecting her own with her daughter's house, and she caught sight of this man's head just over the neighbour's wall. Another lady of her position would have hidden her face and rushed back, and would have thereby proclaimed her status. Not so did mother. With astonishing coolness she rebuked this Peeping Tom, and asked him how he would have fared if the lady of the house had herself discovered him. Mother's simple and coarse apparel, coupled with such a question, completely deceived the fellow, and he begged "Mamaji," or the maid servant, as he took mother to be, not to tell the Bibi Sahib, her mistress, and promised never to do it again.

The same simplicity and studied economy was practised in the matter of food also. When during my imprisonment this time I once learnt that there was no vegetable in the gaol garden except *chaulai*, which grows wild everywhere in the rains, and which I had never eaten before and was still loth to eat, I remembered how mother would sometimes go up before the dawn to the unscreened

terrace of our own house in the rains to pluck some *chaulai* leaves from the *kuchcha* part of the terrace, for preparing *bhujia* for herself. Rampur is inhabited principally by the Pathans whose staple food is meat, so that even our servants turn up their noses if, more than once in a way, they get *dal* or pulse to eat, on account of our own love of *dals*, which is supposed to be characteristic of Shaikhs. But if they cannot get beef everyday, and must occasionally be satisfied with *dal*, they draw the line at such stuff. *Chaulai-ki-bhujia* even they would not touch. But on one occasion I found that mother, who had been thinking for some days past of plucking *chaulai* from the terrace, and had at last prepared it herself, in oil for choice, and with heaps of chillies, did not turn up at dinner, and even her favourite *bhujia* could not tempt her. When pressed hard she told us she did not feel inclined to eat anything, and beyond feeling concerned a little about her indisposition, as we thought, we would have taken no further notice of it. But a few days later she told us she had simply yearned for that *bhujia*. "Then why didn't you have it?" we all asked, adding: "It couldn't have hurt you much after all." "That's all right," she told us, "for I was not indisposed." "Then what else was the matter with you?" we asked in utter surprise. "Ah, everything was the matter with me. My heart was so set on it, and it smelt so savoury when I was preparing it. But then I said to myself: 'What does it matter if thy heart so yearns for it? Wilt thou satisfy thy heart's cravings if tomorrow it yearns for a husband?'"

I desire to join in the homage rendered to the lion-hearted and deeply religious venerable woman, who quailed before no danger, and held her Faith dearer than aught else on earth. Such souls ennoble all who see their shining example, they light the way to Liberty and smooth with their bleeding feet the path which the Nations will tread. May the Eternal light shine upon her.

ANNIE BESANT.

That is how mother lived all her life, mortifying the flesh like any anchorite. But she was no sad-eyed recluse who found nothing left in life to enjoy. On the contrary, she was a most lively, laughter-loving woman, and no "Merry Widow" could have been in one sense merrier than she. Her children never needed any other company when she made up her mind to entertain them with humorous

stories, of which she seemed to have an unending supply stored away in her memory, and it is from her that our sister has inherited her wonderful mimicry. The town-bred girls of Rampur, with the refined manner and accents of the Court, would laugh till their sides ached whenever mother mimicked the manners and accents of the elderly village-bred people of Amroha and Sambhal. As for her retailing of *kahans* and *dastans*, the short stories and longer romances, only a professional *dastango* could beat her at it. Whenever she started relating a story, long or short, half the children in our large family circle would leave off any play or pastime in order to gather round her and listen to her. Now that I come to think of it, out of how much mischief indeed she kept us and our cousins by this simple device. Her memory was prodigious; her repertoire was inexhaustible; and her manner of story-telling lent a charm all her own to the stories she related. How much, let me ask, does the average reader remember of the best novel he has ever read? Little, I fear, beyond the proverbial outlines of the story of Jacob and Joseph retailed by the Persian who evidently considered all details needless, and when asked to repeat it, said: "Was a prophet; had a son, lost him; and found him again!" I could have, at any rate, defied any one of scores of thousand of educated men of to-day who have read, say, Reynold's novel "Omar Pasha"—a story of the Crimean War—or any one of the many novels of Sharar like "Aziz and Virginia" and "Hasan and Angelina," to repeat the story with a tenth of the detail of incident or dialogue with which mother could repeat all these stories and many more—thirty years after having read them only once!

Her ability to read these books is itself a unique and most interesting story. She was born at a period of general decline

when women's literary education was confined to an instruction in reading the Quran in the Arabic, without, of course, understanding a word of it. This was the only literary "accomplishment" that she possessed when she was married, and much as she liked to be able to read Urdu, she could never muster enough courage to ask father to have her taught. As it happened, he had purchased a newly published romance, probably the Urdu translation of *Bostan-i-Khiyal*, and so deeply interested was he in it that he used to take it to bed with him, and read it there far into the night. Occasionally he used to leave the book under the pillow, and on one of those occasions mother asked our father's favourite nephew and hers, the late Azmat Ali Khan, father of Moazzam, to read to her a little of what his uncle found of such absorbing interest. He did so, and mother became equally interested. So, whenever she found an opportunity, she had the book read out to her. And when her nephew would go away, she would try to read what she had heard with the help of her own knowledge of the Arabic script of the Quran. So good was her memory that she soon learnt to read Urdu, though to the end of her life she could not write it. But the good memory to which she owed this self instruction almost betrayed her secret to her husband one night, when in her sleep she repeated word for word a passage out of the book he had only just placed under the pillow when preparing to go to sleep. Next morning he told mother what he had heard her repeat, but she was too afraid to admit her newly-acquired accomplishment, and it did not take her long to convince father that he must have misunderstood what she had said in her sleep. For, as she said, "how could a woman have repeated a passage from a book who was never taught to read!"

But even from the little that she had thus read surreptitiously mother had learnt the value of education, and is it any wonder that it was Shaukat, an uneducated poor widow's son, who was the first to graduate from Rampur. How she was induced to send any of her children out of Rampur to learn English at a school, and how she managed to have Shaukat educated there in spite of the refusal of our uncle to pay for his schooling, is a story that I must reserve for another occasion.



Verse.

My Dream.

None wandered on the pathway where we were ;
 Although it seemed the fairest pathway there :
 With blossoms growing wild on either side
 Resplendent colorings of bright springtide.
 Ours was no mere acquaintanceship of chance ;
 With hearts too full for even utterance
 We walked in silence ever on and on ;
 Only we two—my love and I—alone,
 And yet together in a wond'rous land :
 Speaking no words but walking hand in hand.
 Twin souls in understanding each with each
 Learning what perfect silence has to teach.
 Now and again we paused awhile, to view
 / The beauties that around our pathway grew.
 Inhaling the sweet scent at ev'ry turn,
 Then seeking something more from which to learn.
 One flower I saw—than all the rest more fair—
 'Twas new in coloring—exotic—rare.
 Then in my ecstasy the silence broke
 And giving voice to thought so I awoke
 And knew 't was but a dream.

W. K. G.

TETE TETE



THE Manager complains that fresh subscribers are rushing in to have themselves enlisted on the *Comrade's* "Roll of Honour." It was at first difficult to understand what cause of complaint the

Manager had in all this, particularly as he was so anxious last week that the Editor should make "a call for more money and men." It was with great difficulty that the point was elucidated, and we learnt that the cause of complaint was not the enlistment of fresh subscribers, but the desire of every new-comer to get *all* the issues from the first day of the *Comrade's* re-appearance. This, we recall, is an old habit of the readers of the *Comrade*, and we are glad to note that their appreciation of our efforts is unchanged. Presuming to count on this, we had given a "print order" for about a thousand copies more than were apparently required, much to the mystification of the Manager. But so great has been the rush for the first issue that it is now out-of-print, and we have difficulty in keeping even the usual number of copies required for office use. If in future the Management cannot comply with the orders of fresh subscribers for the first issue, they must not await an explanation of this non-compliance. They had every opportunity of enlisting earlier, for, through the kindness of our contemporaries, we were able to announce the re-appearance of the *Comrade* well in advance; and more than once, so that if they cannot secure a copy of the first issue when enlisting a month after its appearance, they have their own indolence and procrastination to thank. However, if a sufficiently large number of subscribers order it now, we may reprint that issue.



WE may also refer to a complaint which the Management receives only too often. It is this. When Remittance with Order. fresh subscribers wake up to enlist, their impatience to receive the *Comrade* seems to vary in the proportion of their tardiness in enlisting. And yet instead of remitting their subscription in advance by Money Order or cheque, they ask that the first issue should be sent to them per V.-P. P. Well, it takes about a week for us to send the V.-P. P. and receive in our office the money paid by the subscribers, and in addition to this there is, of course, the time that the order takes in reaching us, and the V.-P. P. takes in reaching the subscribers. Between the date of their order and their receipt of the paper there is thus about a fortnight's interval, and such is the eagerness of the subscribers that they spend it in sending us two or three reminders and complaints. There is delay in the following week also; for we have made it a rule, from which we cannot depart in *any* case, that the *Comrade* should not be sent until and unless the subscription is realized in advance. Subscribers only remember that they have had the V.-P. P. released by paying their subscriptions, and start complaining if the next issue of the paper does not reach them the very next day. What we desire them to remember is that it takes perhaps *over a week*, after they have had the V.-P. P. released, for us to receive the money and for them to receive the paper

that we send only after receipt of money. When asking old subscribers to re-enlist we had particularly asked them to remit their subscription by Money Order, instead of asking us to send the first issue per V.-P.P. on account of the delay and vexation this involves. But procrastination, specially in making payments, is an old habit of subscribers, and now they complain of delays. Far the easiest thing is to remit the subscription by Money Order or cheque, because the very day that it is received the office enlists the new subscriber in the Register, and the Despatching Clerk despatches all the issues of the paper ordered, including the latest, and continues thereafter to send it regularly week after week. If the order is received unaccompanied by a remittance, the subscriber's name is not entered in the Register, but a copy of the paper is sent to him per V.-P.P. When it has been released, and the subscription is received in office a week or ten days later, then only is the subscriber's name registered, and it is only thereafter that the paper begins to be sent to him regularly. Perhaps some of our readers will ask us why we are so strict. Well, they would be even more strict if they had our experience. In 1914, our office had despatched in the course of about 9 months 6,141 V.-P.P.'s in order to realise Rs. 35,880. Of these only 2,857 were released by the subscribers, and Rs. 13,792 was realised by us, and as many as 3,471 were refused or not released in time, and Rs. 22,399 remained unrealised on that account. In other words, out of every 100 sent, only 45 packets were paid for, and 55 returned to us. What is more to the point, out of every hundred rupees due to us Rs. 38 were paid, and as many as Rs. 62 remained unpaid. This would have been a beggarly 6 Annas in the Rupee that one could expect even from a bankrupt, were it not for the fact that in several cases the V.-P.P. was accepted when sent a second time. But even when our dues are realised in full by sending V.-P.P.'s repeatedly after refusal, the expenses of realization total very high, and the system is very vexatious. Apart from the subscriptions that we were unable to realise in 1914—and in previous years also, though to a smaller extent—we had to throw away much good money after bad in paying the V.-P.P. charges. Now, too, some V.-P.P.'s have been refused, and apparently some of our honorary canvassers have been too sanguine that if a V.-P.P. is sent to a friend of theirs at their suggestion he is sure to take it. They may not know it, but we do, that the easiest thing in the world is to receive the paper and reject the V.-P.P. There is one "old winner" whose optimism is invincible. Long may he remain so optimistic; but since quite a large slice of the bad debts of 1914 were the result of his optimism, we hope he will discount it before asking us to issue V.-P.P.'s to his innumerable friends. If he does not do so, we fear we shall have to do it, and we shall not be so discriminating as he is.



WE reproduce elsewhere a contribution to the *Times* published recently in that paper. It is not as innocent as it looks, and most of our readers can, we hope, read between the lines of such topical stuff. It is true Ibn-i-Sa'ud was not on the friendliest of terms with the Turks, and no Muslim can admit his defection during a war which considerably reduced the temporal power of Islam, mainly through the open treachery of the Sharif and the defection of Ibn-i-Sa'ud's himself. But we think the Turks could have without much difficulty prevented Ibn-i-Sa'ud's defection if they had begun earlier in the day the negotiations they carried on with him, just before the war, under the direction of the late lamented Tal'at Pasha, through Samey Bey, Mutaserril or Commissioner of Nejd who informed us of his success, when he passed through Delhi early in July, 1914. The Emir of Nejd had accepted, as we then stated, "the direct sovereignty of the Sultan", and had just been "appointed by His Imperial Majesty as the Vali of Nejd". Samey Bey had assured us that "the Emir was devoted to the Khalifa and was a true servant of Islam." To-day it is not a petty matter of "the territorial rights of his State," as the *Times* correspondent would have us believe, that has taken Ibn-i-Sa'ud to Holy Mecca. He goes there, as he said on his departure from Al-Riadh, according to a cable recently received by Maulana Shaukat Ali, to get rid of Sultans and Kings for all time

from the Holy Places, and to subject all Muslims there to the Law of God. He has most emphatically and repeatedly dissociated himself from all idea of setting up his own kingdom in a land where "the first house" was built by Man for the worship of Allah, the King of Mankind, and he has most readily accepted the suggestion of the Central Khilafat Committee of India—which was, indeed, the only reasonable suggestion made in this connection—that the future constitution of the Government of the Hejaz—which was the common heritage of all Muslims, and not the estate of any dynasty or the possession of any tribe, however exalted—should be settled by the whole of the Islamic World in Conference. The Khilafat Delegation is shortly proceeding to Mecca, and we trust it will meet with every success. We add our own appeal to that of the President of the Khilafat Committee that contributions should immediately be remitted to him for defraying the expenses of the Delegation. With men like Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Mr. Tasadduq Ahmad Khan Shervani and Maulvi Abdul Qadir Saheb, the Indian Khilafat Delegation to the Hajaz and Nejd is sure to arrive at a proper and a permanent solution of the problem of administration in the Hejaz. In fact, we have every hope that much would also be done towards the settlement of the larger questions of the Khilafat and the Jazeerat-ul-Arab. Indian Muslims must wake up if they wish to be understood to be still interested in these great questions that most vitally affect their religious life. They must get rid of inertia and exert themselves at a time when the whole polity of Islam is in the melting-pot. We hope very soon to publish a series of articles on these questions, and particularly on their relationship with Muslim life in India itself, and we shall be glad to receive from our readers the expression of their own views also.



WE are greatly relieved to hear that Mahatma Gandhi has at last decided to preside over the Belgaum session of the Indian National Congress, and we echo his hope that the invitation issued by his predecessor in office will be accepted by all political parties, and that they will hold their respective sessions at the same place where the Congress meets. Sriji Gangadhar Rao Deshpande and his colleagues of the Reception Committee have offered to extend "hut hospitality" to all, and we trust this offer will meet with a hearty response. Mahatma Gandhi, in spite of the many concessions he has made to our weakness, even more than to our differences, has not yet been able to ensure a united Congress at Belgaum. But if the Liberals and a portion of the members of the Muslim League and of Non-Brahmin political associations who have not yet been convinced, like Mrs. Besant and members of her National Home Rule League, that there is nothing to prevent their joining the Congress in spite of their disagreement with parts of its programme, actual or prospective, only attend the Belgaum sessions as visitors, and discuss matters with Non-Co-operators still further, we feel sure that they would profit by such discussion just as much as Non-Co-operators.



ONLY one item was discussed at the A. I. C. C. meeting, and the discussion did not prove to be sterile. We hope those No-Changers who accepted the terms of Mahatma Gandhi's "agreement" with Swarajists did so not for the sake of doing nothing to displease the Mahatma, but because they believed no other alternative held out the hope of better results. We have not yet seen any reason to alter our views on Non-Co-operation by a hair's breadth even from the standpoint of Congressmen; and from the Muslim standpoint our views are, from the very nature of the case, unalterable, unless of course the conditions change that made a cessation of Co-operation obligatory. For us, therefore, even more than for Mahatma Gandhi himself, the entire policy and programme of Non-Co-operation stand where they did after the "Last Petition" that India sent to the British Premier on the 19th March, 1920, through

the Indian Khilafat Delegation. But we realise as clearly as Mahatma Gandhi, and we realised it earlier than he did, that the country, whether convinced or not of the need of Non-Co-operation as the sole remedy for our national ills, was unwilling to adopt it in practice. Non-Co-operation is not dead; nor has it failed because the country has failed to take it up with a will and a firm determination. It is the failure not of Non-Co-operation, but of the country and of its Co-operators. But since the Indian nation has not had the perseverance to continue it, it serves no purpose to shower abuses on it. The wisest course is to accept things as they are and not as they ought to be, and Mahatma Gandhi has followed it. While permitting the suspension of Non-Co-operation as a national programme in all else, he has insisted on a concentration of as large a portion of the nation as possible on a single item of it, namely, the boycott of foreign cloth, which is made possible only through the increased production of Indian Home-spun cloth or *Khadder*.

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THE Mahatma rightly pins his faith to *Khadder*, because he pins his faith to the people. Almost all the parties admit that they cannot do without the assistance of the masses in the last resort; but

Economic Debility
and its Cure.

no one believes so much in them as the Mahatma. The Liberals perhaps of all the political parties in India show a mistrust of the people. But it was an English Liberal, Gladstone, who used the trust of the people as the *differentia* between his own party and their Conservative rivals. The Liberals, he said, were distinguished by their "trust of the people tempered by prudence", while the Conservatives were distinguished for their "mistrust of the people tempered by fear". But if we trust the people themselves to liberate India we shall be relying to day on a broken reed, or rather on a reed that is so easy to break. The masses cannot sustain to day a stand-up fight because of their economic debility. A vast majority of them live by agriculture, and while agriculture provides them with bread, even though it may suffice only for a single meal, and that too not a hearty one, it no longer provides them with clothing. Nevertheless they still have leisure enough in the off-season of agriculture, and all that Mahatma Gandhi wants them to do is to utilise that leisure for producing cloth, as they used to do when they were not so poverty-stricken as to-day. He only wants history to repeat itself. Calculations of the comparative profits of handspinning and handweaving as against other occupations are wholly irrelevant. The agricultural labourer can spin and weave in his cottage during the off-season of agriculture, while he cannot take up other occupations along with his main occupation, namely, agriculture. What, therefore, we have to bear in mind is that the production of *Khadder* is the only paying by-product of agriculture, and it is as a by-product that its profits must be compared with those of other occupations. To compare mill cloth with *Khadder* is equally irrelevant. Mill-cloth may be cheaper to the consumer, and it may bring much higher profits to the producer. But we are not thinking of the price of cloth to the consumers in towns nor of profits of cloth production to the capitalist producers. We are thinking rather of the profits of cloth production to the cottager who takes up the production of *Khadder* as a cottage industry. In other words, we are thinking less of the production of wealth, and more of its distribution among the agricultural masses that constitute far the largest portion of the Indian nation. Nothing can compare with *Khadder* is the domain of the distribution of wealth among the masses, and if we reflect a little, we shall come to the conclusion that in the long run the agricultural consumer of cloth will find *Khadder* to be cheaper than mill-cloth, just as he finds home-made bread to be cheaper than what he can purchase from a bakery. For the economic debility of the masses, on whose political support we must all rely, *Khadder* is the sole, as it is also the sovereign remedy.

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As if this is not enough, *Khadder* has the additional advantage that it is our principal means of stopping the economic drain from India. Far the largest item in India's Bill of Imports is foreign cloth, and all are agreed that this drain of Indian wealth must be prevented. Mills cannot be constructed in a moment, even if we have the will, the capacity and the capital to construct them. As a matter of fact, in the case of mills, we depend upon our economic foes for the very weapons of our economic warfare. If Great Britain begins to feel the pinch of competition from the mill-owners of India, it is entirely within her power to stop the imports of mill-machinery into the country. *Khadder*, on the other hand, is free from the defect of such paralyzing dependence. As a matter of fact, every village is an independent unit so far as *Khadder* production is concerned and nothing more is needed for a complete boycott of foreign cloth than the will to produce and to use *Khadder*. If we are not convinced by the simple logic of these facts, a glance at the history of England itself in

the "spacious days" of Elizabeth would suffice. The economic rivalry between England and Holland, and the methods adopted by England to prevent the drain of her wealth through Dutch cloth, have an instructive lesson for India, and we hope one day to invite our readers to study this bit of English History in greater detail in our columns. If foreign cloth is completely boycotted, as it can be within a brief period of time, if only the educated classes will it, and take steps to infect the masses with their own determination, will not Great Britain feel the effects of that far more than of any other blow that we can strike at her? And yet there are people in this country who think the universalisation of *Khadder* is not a political activity!

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WE depend upon the political support of the masses, and yet so little regard have we for the universally applicable truth, that nothing can be had for nothing, that we expect the masses will give their political support to the classes only for

the asking. If we hug this belief to our bosom we deserve to have the biggest disillusionment that any nation has ever experienced. We shall call, but the masses will not answer. We shall play, but the masses will not dance to our tune. There are many in this country who are frightened at the thought of the rapid advance of Bolshevism. Well, Communism is the *karma* of class selfishness; and if we wish to avoid the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and desire the will of all the constituents of the Nation to be free and to prevail, we shall have to act betimes to convince our masses that we share their sorrows, and would like them to share our joys. When a Khulna villager first sees Sir P.C. Roy spinning for all he is worth he probably believes that the great scientist is mad. But when he learns that this great man, who can earn thousands a day merely through mental effort, has become a manual labourer so that he, the starving villager of Khulna, should have at least one square meal a day, he finds in him only a man and a brother. When, God forbid, a class war breaks out in India, and the Have nots come to lord it over the Haves, the safest life to ensure will be that of Sir P. C. Roy, and not that of a rich Zamindar or lawyer of Bengal, even though they be members of the Imperial or Provincial legislatures. The *Charkha* then and *Khadder* are the best bond between the classes and the masses, and even from the narrow political point of view he who wants to "nurse" his constituency must spin and wear *Khadder*.

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SO overwhelming indeed, is the case for *Charkha* and *Khadder* as weapons for political warfare, that we feel amazed

The Higher and the Lower Roads at the manner in which they are sometimes ridiculed in theory and so often neglected in practice. But it is no use to stand by the wayside and abuse our fellow-travellers who are tarrying too long at a

stage of their journey. We must either persuade them to come with us, or proceed on our journey without them. We talked glibly enough in 1920 and in 1921 of the "slave mentality" induced by a too exclusive Western education. It is only now, when we find the Swarajists drifting towards the sterile political activity of the Liberals, that we realise how much the West has hypnotised us into futile forms of politics. Swarajism is to Liberalism near allied. Only a single step separates the two. Shastriism and Sapruism shade into Moonjeism and Abhyankarism imperceptibly. The Liberals pass resolutions of protest. The Swarajists reject Budgets. The Viceroy treats both alike. He throws the protests into the waste-paper basket, and he certifies the Budget. The Indian Civilian is still the lord of the district, and all goes on as before. Yet the lure of the Council is still there. Orator after orator is magnated by the Council Chamber. Mahatma Gandhi and the No-Changers, if they see with a clear gaze, must make up their minds to lose to the Swarajists day by day, partly because of the piquancy of Council life, and partly because of the dullness and the tedium of the *charkha*. Words on one side are opposed to work on the other. To a patient with a jaded palate the Swarajists offer condiments, while the Mahatma offers only congee. Of course, he will prefer condiments to congee any day. But that will not hasten the cure. To day is the hour of the Mahatma's defeat, and for some time yet to come the Swarajists will proceed from one triumph to another. But a No-Changer, if he still believes in the efficacy of work, and does it, can well say to the Swarajists:

"You tak' the High Road,

"And I'll tak' the Lower Road,

"Yet I shall be in Scotland afore ye."

EVER since the Delhi Special Session, No-Changers have talked of surrendering the Congress to the Swarajists. Unfortunately this talk has generally been louder when doubts of their being in a majority

To Surrender.

have assailed some of them at some important meeting, so that the genuineness of the desire to surrender has not always been above suspicion. But surrender made in a huff is no surrender at all and, only transfers the battle to another field. Moreover, the Swarajists are not yet capable of running the Congress in every province. In these circumstances surrender was not a patriotic step, and we are glad that Mahatma Gandhi has more than once turned this down after consultation with some of his staunchest followers, even though other followers equally staunch advised the step. Nevertheless, a time would come when the Swarajists would be ready to run the Congress, and would willingly dispense with Mahatma's "leadership." Then would be their greatest triumph. But then, too, the tide would be turning against them. Two things may follow. Either the Swarajists may learn by bitter experience that condiments are neither proper nor sufficiently nourishing food for a patient, and that congee, though insipid and tasteless, is after all a wholesome diet. Then they will be willing to take up the whole of the Mahatma's constructive programme and to leave the Councils for good. It is for this contingency that we hope and pray. If No-Changers surrendered to-day in a huff, or any one else but the Mahatma took up the leadership of the party while he retired from the Congress, the early conversion of the Swarajists and the reconciliation of the two wings would be difficult of achievement. The No-Changer must not surrender to-day, but must be prepared to fight without bitterness at every step and to retire, and only Mahatma Gandhi is the general who can arrange for a war without an enemy, and for that perilous military operation, an "orderly retreat." To change this military metaphor, we must prevent a waste of water by constructing a series of locks for our political stream. The flood must neither be allowed to burst the dam, nor permitted to escape unprofitably. If the Swarajists in another six months or so are not convinced of their mistake, or they refuse to admit it through obstinacy, at least the country would demand from them the net result of their political activities. That is the second, and to us the less happy, contingency. The Swarajists no doubt would say that there is also a third possibility, namely, the achievement of Swaraj through their efforts. We are not ourselves so hopeful. But if they succeed in winning Swaraj, we for our part will not refuse to take it from their hands. They are not untouchables. But if they fail and come back to us and to unadulterated whole-hog Non-Co-operation, we shall not be among those who would say to them: "Did we do not say so?" They are our brothers, and following the example of the Prophet Joseph when he met his brothers again in the day of his prosperity and their adversity, and of a yet greater Prophet who re-entered as a conqueror his home at Mecca, whence eight years earlier he had had to slink away in the dead of night, and addressed his persecutors as brothers, we shall only say to them: "There is no reproach for you to-day."



BUT we shall be failing in our duty if we permitted the Swarajist to go

An Appeal and its End. on perverting the mentality of the people. We believe that work is the best propaganda, even though it is silent. People judge us in the end

by the work we do, not by the words we utter, and it is just because the work of No-Changers did not prove their overwhelming superiority over the Swarajists that their words of wisdom did not move the nation as they should have done. While, therefore, recommending work even as propaganda to the No-Changers, we reserve to ourselves the right to put in a word whenever it becomes necessary in order to prevent the perversion of the people's ideas through a raging and tearing Council-entry propaganda. The Swarajists are not, however, the people to tolerate even this much from No-Changers in spite of all the concessions that Mahatma Gandhi and other No-Changers have made to them. They wanted at first only toleration, but to-day they grudge even that to the No-Changers. Politics is not all game of wits pitted against each other, and character always tells

in the long run—even in politics of the Western type which the Swarajists seem to favour. When the No-Changers accepted the lead of the Mahatma, in spite of being in a majority at the Bombay A. I. C. C. meeting, and agreed to the Calcutta compromise, they decided to make no reservations, even though they unanimously disapproved of the words "on behalf of the Congress" with reference to the Council activities of the Swarajists. They decided only to "appeal" to the Swarajist leaders, and Maulana Shaukat Ali was selected to make that appeal. Now the Maulana is a "first class beggar" so far as the collection of fund, for good causes is concerned; but he is better fitted to give than to take, to make a concession than to make a demand, and during the few minutes that he took in making his appeal that the hateful words "on behalf of the Congress" be altered, he was obviously most uncomfortable. The Maulana knows his Swarajists, but even he could not have expected that they would make the kind of response they actually did to his manly appeal. Their leaders insisted on the passage of the "agreement" unaltered, and would not even consent to a postponement of the A. I. C. C. meeting for a few hours to enable them to obtain the consent of their followers to an alteration of the objectionable words. "It is not practicable" was their only reply. And yet the same evening it proved practicable enough, for the party at its meeting. But this was the generous concession that it made to conscience. Messrs Das and Nehru were authorised to add a note to the following effect to the Calcutta "arrangement" in consultation with Mahatma Gandhi:—

This arrangement does not preclude any Congressman who on conscientious grounds declines to practice Non-Co-operation in his own person from doing so, without prejudice to and interference with the activities of the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress.

These hateful words, which are a fraud upon the dictionary, still remain, though every Swarajist knows that his activities in the Councils will be entirely the activities of a party of the Congress and only on behalf of that party. What is more, those words are repeated in the note also, and thus still further emphasised. But what is so exquisite is that these one-time champions of Non-Co-operation are generous enough to permit a Non-Co-operator to practise it "in his own person" if he desires to do so as a wretched slave to Conscience! But even then this practice is precluded—if it prejudices or interferes with "the activities of the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress."



WE recall the occasion when, after the Delhi Special Congress, the leaders of the Swaraj Party sat as the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition to judge the alleged

A Warning.

backsliding of the very man who a few hours previously had persuaded the No-Changers to suspend their anti-Council propaganda, and not "drive the Swarajist out of the Congress" as Co-operating rebels and heretics. This was simply because he had expressed his religious views on the subject of the oath of allegiance demanded on entering the Councils, which no Muslim could conscientiously take in these days. And yet it was only those who had no religious or other conscientious objections against going to Councils or voting at Council elections that were permitted by the Special Congress to do so. We also recall how, shortly after the Ahmedabad A.I.C.C. meeting most searching questions were hurled at the heads of the very men who had at Ahmedabad earnestly recommended to the Mahatma not to drive out the Swarajists from the Congress Committees nor penalise them for refusal to spin. The fact is the Swarajists have a capacious maw and an inordinate appetite. They take all and give nothing—no, not even freedom of conscience. But the world will judge them not so much by the size of their maw as by the size of their mind. Could we be deflected from our purpose of promoting unity and conceding to our fellow-countrymen as much as we could, without going against our principles to placate others, we would certainly have called upon the Congressmen to stand up against so petty-minded a party and fight to the bitter end. But we have no stomach for fighting our brothers, however petty and misguided they may be, and we must work for a much happier end. We, however, warn the leaders of the party that they are waging an insidious war against the most large-hearted and the most noble-minded man in the world to-day, and that if they wish to beat the Mahatma, they will have to enlarge their hearts and their minds, if not to the size of his generosity, then at least to the size of their own ambitions.

The Comrade.

The Bombay Conference.

THOSE who agreed with the proposal which the President of the Indian National Congress made, soon after the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance, that a Conference of all political parties in India should be held under the auspices of the Congress, have every reason to rejoice at the success of the Conference that was held last week at Bombay. It was originally hoped that this Conference could be held at Delhi, and much earlier; but the leaders of the Swaraj Party suggested Calcutta for the venue of the Conference, because they had to be on the spot where Government had enacted this *coup de theatre*, and the Executive Council of the Swaraj Party itself, which had been invited to meet a little earlier at Delhi, where Mahatma Gandhi was staying, had also decided to meet now at Calcutta. For several reasons Calcutta was not a suitable venue for the Conference, and it was decided that Mahatma Gandhi alone should meet the Executive Council of the Swarajists at Calcutta and arrange for a meeting of all the parties elsewhere. At the time when this was arranged, little more than common action with regard to the recrudescence of repression in Bengal was contemplated. But Mahatma Gandhi had already been making efforts to unite all political parties on the common platform of the Congress, which, he hoped, would thereafter concentrate its attention and its activities on three items of his constructive programme, viz., the production and the use of *khaddar*, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability. Mrs. Besant had also hoped to invite all parties to a Convention at Bombay, and when it became apparent that all parties were gravitating towards each other, and were practically united in their opposition to the repressive policy of Government, it was but natural that the President of the Indian National Congress should combine in his invitation to all the parties both these objects.

If we keep the history of this invitation in mind, we cannot but come to the conclusion that the Conference held at Bombay achieved great success,--greater, in fact, than could have been expected at the time that the invitation was issued. It passed a strong enough resolution against the old Regulation III as well as the new Ordinance, and, while condemning anarchical organisations, if any, attributed the present unhealthy situation in India to the denial of the just rights of the people long overdue, and proclaimed that the speedy establishment of Swaraj was the only effective remedy for the existing political malaise.

It is true that Congressmen could have made the resolution stronger still; but nothing that was essential has even now been left out, and in certain respects, specially in the refusal to admit the existence of any anarchical organisation, if Government has no better proof of it than it has seen fit to publish, the resolution as passed by the Congress is an improvement upon the draft that had been originally prepared. That the Swaraj Party has not been specifically mentioned as the objective aimed at by Government is of little consequence when all know that it is the first victim of the new-born repression, and when it is acknowledged that the Ordinance is a direct invasion upon individual liberty, and easily lends itself in the hands of the Executive to the implicating of innocent persons and to interference with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated. Action such as this, which has repeatedly been proved to interfere with all constitutional political activity whenever it is inconvenient to the Executive, and to result in the implication of innocent persons who are not exactly *persona grata* to the officials, is not any more condemnable because a particular political party happens to be its objective for the moment; and the Swaraj Party will be the first to benefit from the passing of this resolution by practically all the political parties in India if, in accordance with their demands, the Ordinance and Regulation III are immediately withdrawn, and the persons detained

under them are tried, if necessary, in accordance with the ordinary law.

The resolution is the greatest common measure of India's condemnation of political terrorism, whether exercised by an anarchical organisation or by a Government "by law established" in the country, and the fact that so much is common property between all the parties speaks volumes for the "political sanity" of the Indian nation and of its Congress, with regard to which the President of the European Association in his letter to the President of the Indian National Congress had the audacity to suggest a doubt.

In view of the history of this Conference it was natural that this should have been the first resolution to be moved, and when it was suggested by a speaker or two that Mahatma Gandhi had altered the natural sequence of the subjects to be discussed at Bombay, he had no difficulty in demonstrating that it was these critics themselves that were placing the cart before the horse. On the first day when such criticism was made by a couple of Non-Brahmin representatives, the speech of the critic from Madras showed what suspicions were harboured by members of one party against members of other parties. Mr. Mudliar was candid enough to state that he hoped the Non-Brahmins would not be dismissed after their co-operation had been secured on the resolution denouncing the repressive measures adopted in Bengal, before efforts had been made to reconcile varying political creeds and practices into a more catholic Congress creed, a broad-based programme of work and a common ritual of political practice. Mr. Mudliar does not evidently know Mahatma Gandhi yet, or rather did not know him well enough on the day when he gave voice to this suspicion. He and the Non-Brahmin Party could not have been half so anxious for making the Congress a common platform for all India as the Mahatma was himself. But evidently this spokesman of the Non-Brahmins of Madras was convinced of the catholicity of the Mahatma the same evening in Committee, for he had not a word to say against the resolution after that, and the Non-Brahmins accepted every subsequent proposal made in the Conference with no less cordiality than any other party, and with greater cordiality than some.

Some Anglo-Indian journals have attributed all sorts of political manoeuvring to the Swaraj Party with regard to this resolution, including the choice of Sir Dinshaw Petit for chairman and, curiously enough, the substitution of another, namely, Mr. Shastri, on the following day. On the best of authority we declare that there is not a vestige of truth in all this, and the attitude of the Swaraj Party and its leaders throughout the Conference of all the parties was admirable and above the least suspicion of intrigue.

The journals to which we have already referred had done their best to create in Liberal bosoms an unreasoning jealousy of the Swarajists, and their chagrin was as great as their discomfiture when, disregarding the frantic efforts of such unprogressive Liberals as Sir Chimanlal Setalvad to make them refuse the invitation of the President of the Congress, they not only attended in exceptionally large numbers, but took the most important part in condemning the lawlessness of the custodians of law. Mr. Chintamani, if in the course of his speech in moving the resolution against repression he demonstrated the appropriateness of the title given to him viz., "the Card Index System of Politics", had also demonstrated over-night in the drafting Committee over which he had presided his capacity to transact a good deal of business without loss of time or temper. Mr. Shastri could not preside over the Committee meeting that night owing to indisposition, but when he took the chair next day at the Conference he presided vigorously enough, and, for all his tact, gave shorter shrift to vexatious, flippant and self-advertising movers of amendments than the men that suffer from "amendicitis" than the most impatient Non-Co operator could have dared to give.

Among the Independents, Mr. Jinnah's part, though he played it chiefly in Committee, was not inconsiderable, and it was he who first suggested that, whatever one might think about political crime, Government had signally failed to prove in its various statements the existence of anarchical organisations and to indicate their extent, ramifications and strength. In the

circumstances he would make no admissions, and even those who do not love the lawyers must admit that for once the lawyer's instinct in Mr. Jinnah was right. Deshbandu Das, too, had made no admission about the existence or extent or ramifications of any anarchical organisation; but the warning he had given to Government sometime ago about the revolutionary movement was deliberately misconstrued into a first class admission, and Mr. Jinnah was right in advising that nothing like an admission should ever be volunteered, and it should be left to Government to adduce before the people of India such proof as it possessed with regard to the existence of anarchical organisations which could be deemed sufficient to justify the use of such extraordinary and indiscriminating methods of repression.

As a representative of the No-Changers the Mahatma was more than enough; but a malevolent fate induced Mr. George Joseph to intervene, in spite of the advice of his friends, with an amendment that was needless, and a speech in support of it into which it was not impossible to read a partisan's chagrin at the undeserved success of a rival party. This was perhaps the only discordant note struck in all these proceedings, and it did no good to the cause of non-violence, nor enhanced the reputation of Mr. Joseph.

It is true that Mrs. Besant also struck a discordant note. But her protest, in spite of its persistence, was made in a minor key, and was more in the nature of a frank declaration of a heretic creed than an effort at proselytisation. Having once disburdened herself of her creed, she was anxious to move forward with as great speed as possible towards the goal of Swaraj.

When the comparatively minor, but in point of time the primary, work of expressing united India's condemnation of official lawlessness had been satisfactorily done, it was time to take up the work of promoting a more permanent unity of all parties. And for this the unity already achieved, and the spirit generated in achieving it, were themselves the best leverage that could have been devised. The alternative propositions before the leaders of various parties were two, viz., either to make a heroic effort at once to achieve unity, with the possibility of failure, and of feelings being embittered all the more through impatience, and the certainty of unreasonably protracted and discordant discussions; or to postpone the final decision for the time being, and to provide in the meantime the machinery to conserve and increase the spirit of unity already created, so that final success could be more hopefully predicted. It was the later alternative that was ultimately adopted, and it was the Liberal Party that was mainly responsible for this. Knowing the difficulties of the situation, we regard this decision with satisfaction, though distinctly a majority in the Conference, in spite of the fact that only a minority voted for it, would have preferred if the amendment moved by Mr. J. K. Mehta had succeeded, and the Committee appointed to explore all avenues leading to unity had been asked to report by the 15th December, instead of the 31st March next, as resolved by the Conference.

It was this hopeful sign that impelled the President of the Congress to make, by way of compromise, an appeal with the help of the House to all the parties there assembled. If the concluding week of this year was too near, and it was not possible in the present circumstances to hold a united Congress at Belgaum, surely it was the next best thing to make Belgaum the common centre where all parties could hold their respective meetings, and thus enable their leaders to meet once more for the purpose of exchanging views and devising plans for achieving the unity they all desired.

Mrs. Besant and her National Home Rule League have definitely accepted this invitation, and the Non-Brahmin Party in Madras has almost accepted it, since the Non-Brahmin Party in the Bombay Presidency has offered to make all arrangements for the visit of their Madras friends. Mr. Chintamani was candid and cautious, but not pessimistic, and although he did not promise to make a personal recommendation to the Executive body of the Liberal

Federation, we feel as if his performance will precede and exceed his promise. Mr. Jinnah was, unfortunately, not present when this invitation was offered, but we trust that he would repeat in 1924 the effort he made in 1915 to hold for the first time in the same place the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League.

We strongly recommend the appeal of the President of the Indian National Congress to the favourable consideration of the various parties and communities concerned, and we hope another milestone in our progress towards unity would be reached at Belgaum before we ring out the old year and ring in the new. It must be remembered that the Committee appointed under the Bombay Conference resolution is not bound to report its conclusions only at the end of March next. That is the last date by which the report must in any case be submitted, and if all parties hold their respective sessions at Belgaum next month, we have every hope that by the end of February, if not earlier, the country would be united into a Congress common to all Indians, or, at least, know what prospect there is of ultimate unity, and what obstacles still remain in the way. We have been disunited too long, and it is our firm belief that if we persist in our love of party shibboleths, instead of discovering a common formula for all who seek India's salvation in Swaraj, the country would soon take the matter out of the hands of the various parties, and give its unmistakeable verdict against narrow partisanship and personal jealousies. We pray that no party may hold out long against the unity that the country as a whole craves, and that none may court the verdict against which we warn one and all.

So far everything augurs well. As a telegram from Bombay says, the very fact that the leaders of the parties which had for some years past not met together for any common purpose, have at last put their heads together to oppose the use of lawless laws, and have done so in the most cordial manner and with success, opens out great vistas of national concord and amity. This must not blind us to the very great difficulties that exist in the way of complete unity; but so far as things have gone, they have amply justified the action of those who decided that such a Conference should be convened.

It is true that the Captains and the Kings have departed from Bombay without deciding upon, or even discussing the manner in which they would deal with Government if it chose to disregard the resolution against repression which they had passed with such remarkable unanimity. It was a very practical reminder that Maulana Shaukat Ali addressed to the Conference when it was about to pass this resolution. What force of action is there behind its weighty words? The Maulana has, no doubt, a just enough cause for complaint against those who enjoyed his pointed sallies at the do-nothings who yet quarrel over every word, and still prepared to leave the meeting without considering, or, at least, indicating the action they would take if Government treated their protest with contempt. But the whole difficulty in the way of achieving unity is a question of methods, and if common action had been possible to-day, the whole question of unity would have been solved without the appointment of an inordinately large and ill-assorted Committee, on which every one seemed so anxious to be represented, but which not a quarter of those nominated would perhaps attend. To our mind, the only effective method that can be adopted is that of Non-Co-operation in all its forms, and particularly the boycott of foreign cloth through the production of more and more *khaddar* every day. But if all cannot agree on complete Non-Co-operation, let us at least know how far they will go to make their protests and warnings effective. Unless that is done, it is what Hamlet complained of, 'words, words, words!'

Britain and Egypt.

ANALOGY AND CONTRAST

WHEN at Serajevo on Austrian soil the heir to the throne of Austria and his wife were most brutally murdered ten years ago by a determined band of Slav assassins, with the help and complicity of Servian officials, some of whom also helped them to escape across the border, and with weapons supplied from the Servian State arsenal, and Austria demanded from Servia the investigation of the crime in collaboration with herself, and a punishment of the offenders, together with the stoppage of Servian propaganda hostile to herself, and did not include in her ultimatum a single item unconnected with the crime itself, it was a British Foreign Secretary, British diplomats and British journals, specially of the Tory type, that considered the acceptance of the Austrian ultimatum to be too great a humiliation for that country of regicides. The British Foreign Office Blue-Book [No. 6, (1914)] gave us among other things the colloquy between the British Foreign Secretary and the German Ambassador in London in the course of which Sir Edward Grey had said that "the Servian reply to the Austrian ultimatum went further than could have been expected to meet the Austrian demands; that Russia had evidently exercised conciliatory influence at Belgrade, and that it was really at Vienna that moderating influence was now required." Reuter also informed us at the time that "diplomats in London take the gravest view and are of opinion that no Servian Cabinet could comply with the Austrian demand. In other circles opinion is expressed that Servia may ask for proofs of the charges against Servian officials, and that meanwhile the Powers will endeavour to mediate." As for the *Morning Post*, it "inveighs against the most high-handed procedure on record in imposing terms such as never have been enforced on a conquered State," even though the London press generally was "anti-Servian in tone", before word had been sent round from Downing Street to sing a different tune, and "counselled submission on the ground of the indefensibility of making one country the centre of intrigues against the integrity of another".

Is it any wonder that Servia became obdurate thereafter, and in spite of the gravity of her offence tried to wriggle out of the position that was the natural consequence of such an offence? As a sample of the way in which she tried to meet the demand of Austria we quote some extracts from her reply. Austria had asked for "a formal assurance that it condemns this dangerous propaganda against the Monarchy, the aim of which is to detach from the Monarchy territories belonging to it", and had given in her Note a clear description of the "criminal and terrorist propaganda" which she desired Servia to undertake to suppress. To this the Servian reply was that "the Royal Government cannot be held responsible for manifestations of a private nature such as newspaper articles and the peaceful work of societies - manifestations which occur in almost all countries as a matter of course, and which as a general rule escape official control." The Austrian Note had stated that "it results from the depositions and confessions of the criminal perpetrators of the outrage of June 28 that the Serajevo assassinations were hatched in Belgrade, that the arms and explosives with which the murderers were provided had been given to them by Servian officers and functionaries belonging to the Narodna Obrava, and finally that the passage to Bosnia of the criminals and their arms was organised and effected by the chiefs of the Servian frontier service." And what was Servia's answer? Merely this that "the Royal Government has been painfully surprised by the statements according to which persons of the Kingdom of Servia are said to have taken part in the preparation of the outrage committed at Serajevo."

Throughout the Servian reply ran the refrain that Servia was not convinced of the complicity of any of her subjects, much less of Servian officers and officials, in the crime of Serajevo, and that she would hand over to the court only such persons for whose complicity it shall have been furnished with proofs, and remove from the military service only such persons whom a judicial enquiry proved to have been guilty of acts directed against the integrity of the territory of Austria. Servia demanded the communication "in the usual form as

soon as possible of the presumption of guilt as well as the eventual proofs of the guilt" against these persons which had till then been collected at Serajevo.

But with regard to the demand of Austria that she should accept the collaboration of the Austrian representatives in the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of Austria, and the participation of her delegates in the investigation relating to the plot of June 28th by the Servian Judiciary, Servia's attitude would have done credit to the most innocent and the most formidable of the High Powers of Europe. "The Royal Government," ran her reply, "must confess that it is not quite clear as to the sense and object of the demands of the Imperial and Royal Government that Servia should undertake to accept on her territory the collaboration of delegates of the Imperial and Royal Government, but it declares that it will admit whatever collaboration may be in accord with the principles of international and criminal procedure, as well as with good neighbourly relations. The Royal Government, as goes without saying, considers it to be its duty to open an enquiry against all those who are or shall eventually be proved to have been involved in the plot of June 28, and who are in Servian territory. As to the participation at this investigation of agents of the Austro-Hungarian authorities delegated for this purpose by the Imperial and Royal Government, the Royal Government cannot accept this demand, for it would be a violation of the Constitution and of the law of criminal procedure. Nevertheless, in concrete cases, it might be found possible to communicate the result of the investigation in question to the Austro-Hungarian representatives."

We have cited the Serajevo parallel in such detail because certain memories are proverbially short, and those who, like the *Times*, thought that the murder of Sir Lee Stack was "no case for the leisurely exchange of diplomatic notes and replies," but was a case for "the most prompt and energetic action" should have an opportunity of revising their opinions to-day in the light of what they had said on the occasion of a far worse outrage but ten years ago. And if the *Morning Post*, "which inveighed against the most high-handed procedure on record" in 1914, is still of that opinion with regard to the Austrian demands, then it must admit the record of Austria has now been broken by Great Britain when in its own words, such terms have been imposed on Egypt "as have never been enforced on a conquered State."

II. MURDER IS MURDER, IN UNIFORM OR OUT OF IT.

Political purity is not the same thing as political prudery; and it will do the world no end of good if a candid moralist wrote a frank dissertation on the ethical difference between violence on a large scale, called War, which is sanctified by all the churches and glorified by all the poets and singers, and violence on small scale, which is generally described as a dastardly act of murderers and assassins. Not that such a dissertation would give us anything that man has not already discovered. It was Victor Hugo that said that "the hero is a species of assassin," that "increasing the magnitude of crime cannot be its diminution; that if to kill is a crime, to kill much cannot be an extenuating circumstance; that if to steal is a shame, to invade cannot be a glory, that *Te Deums* do not count for much in this matter; that homicide is homicide; that bloodshed is bloodshed; that it serves nothing to call one's self Cæsar or Napoleon; that in the eyes of eternal God the figure of a murderer is not changed because, instead of a gallows cap there is placed upon the head an Emperor's Crown."

Another writer, Douglas Jerrold was still more pungent when he described "the Glory of War," and at the sight of some recruits in Bird-cage Walk "drilled by a sergeant to do homicide cleanly, handsomely" burst out into saying: "Contemplate God's image with a musket! Behold the crowning glory of God's work managed like a machine to slay the image of God! Is not yonder row of clowns a melancholy sight? Yet are they the sucklings of glory—the baby mighty ones of a future Gazette. Reason beholds them with a deep pity. Imagination magnifies them into fiends of wickedness. There is carnage

about them—carnage, and the pestilential vapours of the slaughtered. What a fine-looking thing is war! Yet dress it as we may, dress and feather it, daub it with gold, huzza it, and sing swaggering songs about it—what is it, nine times out of ten, but Murder in uniform? Cain, taken the sergeant's shilling! The craft of man has made a splendid ceremony of homicide—has invested it with dignity. He slaughters with flags flying, drums beating and trumpets braying. He kills according to method and has worldly honours for his grim handiwork. The battle over, the Christian warrior marches to church, and reverently folding his sweet and spotless hands sings *Te Deum*. Angels wait his fervent thanks to God, to whose foot-stool—on his own faith—he has so lately sent his shuddering thousands. And this spirit of destruction working within him is canonized by the craft and ignorance of men and worshipped as Glory." Douglas Jerrold calls the soldier who places himself under the command of another and binds himself to kill others at the bidding of another a mere "working tool of slaughter," "the bond-servant of war," "a mere machine with human pulses to do the bidding of war," "the lackey of carnage," "the liveried foot-man, at a few pence per day, of fire and blood."

A human life has recently been taken at Cairo. A most dastardly outrage has been committed. It was a cowardly murder, and all who detest violence must abominate the crime. But, as it to shame the believers in non-violence, the parade of power has begun. The sea-hounds of war have been unleashed, and unless Egypt permits herself to be robbed of the little independence she had but recently won, these sea-hounds of war will soon be barking and Alexandria may be bombarded by British war-ships a second time within this half-century. Murder has no doubt been committed; but if Liberty is not permitted to be killed in revenge, those who have been well drilled "to do homicide cleanly, handsomely" will soon be committing it on a larger scale, and rejoicing in the deed.

III. THE PARADE OF POWER.

British newspapers following the lead of the Thunderer of Printing-House Square, "demand not only the condign punishment of the assassins, but energetic British action to re-establish respect for Britain in Egypt." "Members of the Egyptian Cabinet and specially Zaghlul Pasha"—who love freedom as dearly as the Austin Chamberlains and the Winston Churchills, the Curzons and the Birkenheads of Britain—are on that account "largely held morally responsible for the crime owing to their anti-British attitude"—which is, of course, only a synonym for their pro-Egyptian politics. The *Times* Cairo correspondent had already told us that the Zaghlul Cabinet had "deliberately encouraged agitation"—which is manifestly the same thing as murder! This correspondent is evidently a very humane person, for he says "one does not wish to make things more difficult for the present Cabinet." But there are limits even to the humaneness of a *Times* correspondent in the East. Zaghlul's Cabinet "must be made to understand that pandering to the more extreme influences in order to secure a momentary political advantage, which has been the key-note of its policy throughout, is not a form of Government that can be tolerated." So a hundred British marines effected the occupation of the Customs towards which they were attracted by a truly national instinct. The *Iron Duke* and the *Malaya* have been ordered from Malta to Alexandria and Port Said respectively, and the battleship *Benbow* which was expected in Malta from Alexandria has been ordered to remain there. A light cruiser now in Creek waters and two destroyers in Port Said have been ordered to Suez. Martial Law prevails in the Sudan, and "no damned nonsense" is permitted any longer in the shape of Egyptian troops, and probably also of Egyptian officers who administered the country as *mameurs* or district officers, under British military officers acting as *mudirs* or provincial governors. There are already two battalions of British soldiers in the Sudan, and by the subtle alchemy of British lovers of constitutionalism the Sudanese troops of the Egyptian army, of which the Sultan of Egypt is still the

Commander-in-Chief, have been transmuted into the pure gold of the Sudanese Defence Force without the least reference to him. There is roughly a division of British troops already in Egypt where Egyptian forces number about 7,000; and yet the 1st Battalion of the East Lancashire Regiment has been suddenly ordered to proceed from Malta to Egypt, and has already embarked on board the liner *Marnelen* which has disembarked her passengers in order to transport troops and possibly also artillery to Egypt. Another battalion of British troops may soon follow from Gibraltar—"should the necessity arise." The whole British garrison in Alexandria paraded the town. Two aeroplanes from Cairo demonstrated at Tantah "where there was some restiveness." Lord Allenby himself, when he went to present his ultimatum to Sa'id Pasha Zaghlul, was "escorted by a regiment of cavalry." This in spite of the fact that there were neither "small demonstrations by students" as at Alexandria, nor "some restiveness" as at Tantah, for "the behaviour of the crowd in Cairo was unexceptionable." Indeed so necessary did it seem to make a parade of power that even the solemn ceremonial of a funeral was not permitted to go without a reminder of British puissance. We are told "unforgettable scenes and a magnificent military display of impressive solemnity marked the funeral of Sir Lee Stack, which had the character of an international ceremony!" Everything is as it should have been, for did not the *Times* say immediately after the outrage, that "the Conservative Government will be expected to act as promptly as did Mr. MacDonald's Government." "Respect for Britain has no doubt been 're-established' in Egypt, and the halo of glory surrounds the British name. But, as Douglas Jerrold wrote, Glory cannot dazzle Truth. "Does it not at times appear no other than a highway-man with a pistol at a nation's breast? A burglar, with a crow-bar, entering a Kingdom?"

IV. AN OLD BAILEY FOR NATIONS.

A pistol has certainly been levelled at the breast of Egypt, and the crow-bar is about to force its doors, even if we can regard them as closed with a British Army of Occupation living in the very heart of it. Douglas Jerrold had closed his essay, written some eighty years ago, with the lament: "Alas! in this world there is no Old Bailey for nations." When the last war, which we were told was waged to end war, and to make the world safe for democracy, had just commenced, people had begun to think of something better than the old race of armaments and the old unceremonious fight with the elbows for place in the sun. The system of Balance of Power had obviously proved its untenableness by leading to the war which all had foreseen, which all feared, and to which everybody was irresistibly drawn. Even such a Chauvinist as Mr. Winston Churchill had said, in the course of an interview with an American journalist: "If as a result of our victory Europe should be re-constructed in accordance with the principle of nationalities and with the wishes of the populations in disputed territories, we shall be able to hope for a great relief in the burden of armaments." Mr. Churchill has already had a share in the re-construction of the world after the victory of the Allies, but we know how grievously he and his colleagues failed in the task of re-construction in accordance with the principle of nationalities. The Treaty of Versailles was bad enough but that of Sevres was far worse, and even now that the Treaty of Lausanne has been substituted for it, Syria, Palestine and Iraq are still denied self-determination, and even with the Labour Party in office we have had the spectacle of Lord Parmoor at Geneva declaring re-construction "in accordance with the principle of nationalities and with the wishes of the populations in disputed territories" could not be carried out with regard to Mosul. What a contrast this is between promise and performance when we reflect that even in Tsarist Russia an organ like the *Reich* was writing at the commencement of war that the frontiers of states should coincide with the frontiers of nationalities; that the war must be terminated in such a way that it should leave no vengeful aspirations on either side; that no nationality must be opposed in the satisfaction of its

legitimate ambitions. "A hundred years' fight for the principle of nationality must finish with a decision free from all compromise and therefore final. The great problem of the great hour through which we are passing consists in the return to the organic and super-national form of organisation. The idea of such a world organisation was, as a matter of fact, always present during the past periods of universal wars. It formed the subject of meditation of the exile in St. Helena, and, before him, of the theorists and practical advocates of universal Monarchy in all ages. Now, after the unparalleled, gigantic, and world-wide effort and sacrifices, the soil is once more favourable for the reception of this seed. Remove the old predatory form from the idea, arm it with all the resources of modern science of international law, supply it with the support of the innumerable forces on which modern civilisation rests, and you will get the new idea of the super-national organisation of Europe." Alas that when the war ended with the victory of the Allies, and peace was restored, and the Powers of Europe established by a solemn covenant a League of Nations, it has proved to be little better than a farce, or a by-word for weakness and futility, when it was anything else than a Thieves' Supper.

V. TARDY VINDICATION OF MUSSOLINI

What the opinion in France would be could be foreseen early enough from the advice offered by *La Liberte* of Cairo that Britain should keep within the usages of international law, and its just prediction that Egypt would be willing to give reasonable satisfaction, but that a grave crisis will arise if a demand is made which no Egyptian Government can satisfy. French diplomatic circles, according to Paris advices, hope that it may be possible to submit the Anglo-Egyptian dispute to the arbitration of the League of Nations. But Great Britain is unwilling to trust even such League as exists to-day. When people in India talk so glibly of the desirability of confining Indian action within constitutional limits we have to remind them that the constitution in India, unlike that of free nations, has not been made by the people or with their consent, but has been imposed wholly from without and that restricting our action to constitutional methods means that we are to wage a war only with the weapons that the enemy himself would permit us to use. The absurdity of this kind of "Moderation" becomes patent when we find that in the unilateral declaration made in 1922, which "granted Egyptian independence," Britain herself reserved four points for agreement after subsequent discussions, and now that she wants to force her own will upon Egypt on those points and Egypt is unwilling, it is not possible for Egypt to ask the League of Nations to arbitrate, because, forsooth, "British officials point out that by the existing diplomatic understanding all matters lying within the province of the four reserved points, namely, the Sudan protection of the canal, foreign interests and the defence of Egypt, are matters of domestic policy within the British Empire and therefore are outside the competence of the League."

The British are not, however, without support. Italy and her Fascism are entirely vindicated, and as the Rome correspondent of the *Times* summarising Italian opinion says, "the British Government's action constitutes a tardy but complete vindication of the Italian ultimatum to Greece after the murder of the Albanian Boundary Commission, which led to the Corfu incident. We have not forgotten how much public opinion in Britain and elsewhere condemned the bombardment of the inhabitants of Corfu, including little children, and how Italy was being pressed to submit to the arbitration of the Conference of Ambassadors. But Signor Mussolini, like Alexander the Great, according to Sir Lucius O'Trigger of Sheridan's *Rivals*, "whipped out his broad sword, and left the lazy sons of peace to settle the justice of it." Misfortune brings us strange bed-fellows, and Mr. Baldwin must now lie in the same bed as the Italian leader of the Fascisti. No wonder the British ultimatum has given French opinion a perceptible shock, and those who do not believe in the Geneva Protocol ask ironically what becomes of the

League of Nations in the presence of the frank display of force with which Britain is backing her demands.

VI. A TOPSY-TURVY WORLD.

Of course, French opinion is wrong, and the *Times* laments that foreign comment on British action is based on "a complete misunderstanding of the real status of Egypt." The British are not only always right, but always act from motives of benevolence and altruism. The *Times* therefore emphasises that Great Britain is not merely acting within her clear rights, but is also "fulfilling the trust reposed in her by those foreign communities which have derived advantage from Britain's presence in Egypt." Has she not even in her ultimatum thought of other Europeans also when demanding that rules and conditions governing the service, discipline and retirement of foreign officials still employed, and financial conditions governing the pensions of those who have left Egyptian service, shall be revised in accordance with the wishes of his Majesty's Government, and has she not explained that this clause is designed, among other things, as "protection against discourtesy, lack of consideration and deliberate vexatious treatment to which some such officials, including notably a distinguished French Engineer, have been recently subjected?" What ingratitude after this to talk of a reference of this "domestic" matter to the League of Nations! Well, let the French talk of the League as much as they like, but the League itself knows its business. The protest formulated by the Egyptian Parliament has certainly been received at the League's Secretariat. It is not, however, circulating it to members of the League, because, forsooth, "documents from any bodies other than Governments are never circulated," and the Government which the British have now "by law established" in Egypt is certainly not the kind of Government that could dare appeal to the League against Britain. In fact, it has punished the Egyptian Parliament for daring to appeal to Geneva by closing its door—for a month to begin with. This is a topsy turvy world, indeed, in which France criticises British use of force when she should be grateful for British benevolence, and the "Egyptian" Government instead of appealing to the League of Nations, which receives appeals only from Governments, closes the Egyptian Parliament for daring to appeal against the sentence of death now being executed on Egyptian liberties.

As a matter of fact, there is a "complete misunderstanding" not only about the real status of Egypt but also about the real status of the League of Nations. As Mr. Winston Churchill and the *Reich* had both indicated, the League was never intended to be anything more than a League of European and Christian Nations, and the principle of nationalities does not apply to Orientals. The doctrine that applies to them is that of Trusteeship, as we in India know only too well. And it is only the use of force that impresses "the Oriental mind!"

VI. TIGHTENING UP RELAXED CONTROL

"It is felt that Britain has been too optimistic as to Egypt's capacity to govern herself without detriment to foreign interests, and demands under this head have merely the effect of tightening up the control which had been relaxed just as we in India may soon experience a similar tightening up of the control which had been relaxed ever since the late Mr. Montagu, "a Jew," had been allowed to intrude into Imperial administrative circles as Secretary of State for India. How similar to those which have been used in justification of the repression in Bengal are the accents of the *Evening Standard*, which refers to "progressively anarchical conditions which have culminated in the foul murder of the Sirdar, and remind us that "Britain is still responsible for Egypt to foreign powers, still immediately responsible for the dole, and ultimately for the internal peace of the country." This journal thinks that Britain "has shown marvellous and perhaps excessive patience in face of an anti-British campaign!" And if that is so, who can quarrel with it when it adds that "the demands that are now made on Egypt, severe as they may be, do not exceed the necessity of the case."

VII. BRITAIN, EGYPT AND SUDAN.

It is idle to examine them in any detail, for, apart from their severity, they bear no relation whatever to the crime which is supposed to have prompted them. In fact, we think they betray little respect for the memory of the murdered man. On the contrary, they betray a very selfish psychology, the psychology of one who would say to himself, "God be praised for the outrage, for now is my chance." Almost completely forgetful of Sir Lee Stack, Britain has included in her demands the practical abolition of Condominium in Sudan and the British control of the Nile which is the jugular vein of Egypt. And yet it was Egyptian and not British gold that had been poured into Sudan ever since it had been conquered by Egypt under Mohamed Ali Pasha—two generations before the British occupied Egypt. It was then lost by British Commanders such as Hicks Pasha, Lupton Bey, General Baker, and Gordon himself, whose death was due to the vacillation of the British Government and the delay in her sending a relief expedition under Wolseley. Indeed, if the Egyptians had withdrawn from the Sudan their force, which numbered as many as 40,000 troops at the time that the Egyptian army of the Delta was dispersed at Tell-el-Kabir, and abandoning the Sudan to its fate, had rather fought the British with the help of that army, the British would in all probability have never secured a footing in Egypt, and the whole of its history would have been written differently. As it was, having lost the Sudan to the Mahdi after their victory at Tell-el-Kabir, it was up to the British to recover it with the exclusive help of their own men and entirely by the expenditure of their own money. But this is never the British way. What we find throughout the early years of the British Occupation is that admittedly "the immense responsibilities involved were most imperfectly understood by the British Government." It is always: "We cannot lend English or Indian troops; it consulted, recommend abandonment of Sudan within certain limits" (Lord Granville to Sir E. Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer), or "Her Majesty's Government can do nothing in the matter which would throw upon them the responsibilities for operations in the Sudan;" or, again: "Her Majesty's Government recommend to the Ministers of the Khediv to come to an early decision to abandon all territory south of Assuan, or, at least, Wadi Halfa." For a dozen years no impression was made on the Khalifa who ruled over the Sudan after the Mahdi. But when Lord Salisbury, encouraged by an improvement in the condition of Egyptian finance and of the Egyptian army, decided to make an attempt "to recover gradually the Sudan provinces abandoned by Egypt in 1885 on the advice of Mr. Gladstone's Government," it was almost entirely at the cost of Egypt, and mainly with the help of the Egyptian forces that Sirdar Kitchener conducted his operations. In the period from March 1896 to December 1898 the expenditure incurred on these operations amounted to a sum of two and a half million sterling. But towards this the British Government gave a grant-in-aid of £800,000 only. The balance of the expenditure was borne by the Egyptian treasury. And after that year the deficits of the Sudan budget were paid by Egypt alone until it finally resolved that the Sudan budget should balance itself. And yet the Sudan Government was a Condominium! After this can it be said that it is not in the fitness of things that in the Sudan Britain should act as "the predominant party in its control," when the Sudan is a paying concern, and with the Upper Nile dammed and controlled, it can equal, if not surpass, Egypt in the extent and quality of its cotton?

Egypt has, of course, proved to be guilty of "heedless ingratitude for the benefits conferred by Great Britain." Well, the Egyptians may talk of "Egypt for the Egyptians" as much as they like, especially with three points besides the Sudan still reserved—"for future agreement." But, as the *Star* tells us, it does not mean, "Sudan for the Egyptians." The Sudan is, for the Britons, as trustees, of course, for the Sudanese, just as the White dwellers on the highlands of Kenya are the trustees, according to the Devonshire-cum-Thomas doctrine, for the "natives" of Kenya.

VIII. "NATIVE OPINION" & "AUTHORITATIVE ADVICES."

The Khartoum correspondent of the *Times* has already assured us that, "the British ultimatum has created a good impression among

the Sudanese," and that, in fact, "native opinion urges even stronger measures, including the expulsion of all Egyptians employed by the Sudan Government in addition to the Egyptian army, and the removal of the Egyptian flag, which is at present flown jointly with the Union Jack. That, indeed, would be action "of a kind that would impress the Oriental mind." In fact, after our experience of Dyerism we would suggest that for the Egyptians still employed in the Sudan a Crawling Lane should be made, so that when their turn for expulsion comes, they could be made to move on their bellies as so many reptiles from Khartoum to Cairo. As for that "native opinion," we think we know it. It is own brother to the "authoritative advices" from India wired back to us on the 23rd instant, before we knew anything of the terms of the ultimatum, to the effect that "in the event of the Egyptian trouble developing, religious factions in India do not feel called upon to interfere."

IX. THE MEANING OF THE ULTIMATUM.

The Egyptian Parliament has gone as far as it could possibly go; and, besides the apology, which it must have been hard for the Government to offer after the brutal statement of Lord Almonby that the outrage "holds up Egypt's present Government to the contempt of the civilized people," and the still harder promise to forbid and vigorously suppress all political demonstrations, Egypt has given the pound of flesh demanded by the noon of the 25th instant in the shape of half a million sterling. America's example with regard to the indemnity paid by Persia for the death of Mr. Imbrie could not be disregarded, but even if most of this money will be "applied to benevolent objects in the Sudan," we imagine the most benevolent of them all will be the bought submission of the proto-type in Sudan of our own *Ji-huzurs*. The other conditions clearly lead to the annexation of Sudan and to the impoverishment of Egypt through control of the Nile, and, in fact, the reversion of Egypt into the bondage from which she was only just emerging. It is the Second Occupation of Egypt, and we fear it looks as if the new "King," who is so far tamely submitting, is no more a friend of the people of Egypt than the old "Khedive" proved himself to be when he accepted British "assistance" at Tell-el-Kabir.

X. WHAT INDIAN MUSALMANS WILL DO?

We do not know whether the Egyptians will fight another Tell-el-Kabir or resort, like us, to non-violent Non-Co-operation. But whatever they may do, the duty of Indian Musalmans is clear.

We regret that, following the lead of Europe, Egypt is more national than Islamic in its political outlook, and seldom spares a thought for other Muslims. Even the Egyptians' proposal of a World Conference to settle the Khilafat Question before long got mixed up with the ambitions of Sultan Fuad. But Indian Musalmans, in spite of their nationalism, are sufficiently Islamic in their ideals and outlook to feel for their brethren in Egypt in this their hour of trial. Whatever "religious factions" may or may not do, Indian Musalmans mean to do everything in their power to help and encourage their co-religionists in Egypt and Sudan. For one thing, they can guarantee that "not a man, not a gun" shall the British send out of India's army for the destruction of the liberties of Egypt and Sudan. But we hope this will not be all. What form our assistance may take in the future is yet in the womb of the days to come. But we who still feel for the Turks and the Kurds in Mosul, and who share the joys and the sorrows of the Riffian people, cannot be indifferent to the fate of the Egyptians and the Sudanese. All Musalmans are brothers. All alike belong to the peace-loving army of Allah, and Egypt is too near the Citadel and the Sanctuaries of Islam to be left to the tender mercies of Britain. Moreover, do we not know that it is mainly because Britain likes to ride us astride that she is trying to keep one foot in each stirrup, the stirrup of Egypt and the stirrup of Arabia, including Palestine? If the countries on both sides of the Red Sea and the Suez Canal are enslaved, our own bondage is sure to be prolonged; while, conversely, if they obtained their freedom, our own emancipation will not long be delayed. Thus, it is not only Indian Musalmans, but all Indians that

have an interest in the freedom of the Egyptians and of the Sudanese. Slaves as we are, we may not be able to offer them much material support. But even slaves can offer sympathy, and Egypt and Sudan may rest assured of the sympathy of all India.

XI. EGYPT AND BRITISH PLEDGES.

By all that is solemn and holy Egypt should never have been subjected to the indignity and injury of having the Army of Occupation billeted upon her. We quote below just a few of the pledges given by British Ministers to Egypt, and we defy any one to say that anything less than the demands of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul, embodied in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's despatch of 7th October last to Lord Allenby, is compatible with them.

"I Admiral commanding the British Fleet, think it opportune to confirm without delay once more to Your Highness that the Government of Great Britain has no intention of making the conquest of Egypt, nor injuring in any way the religion and liberties of the Egyptians. It has for its sole object to protect Your Highness and the Egyptian people against rebels" (Sir Beauchamp Seymour to Khedive Tewfik, Alexandria, July 26, 1882. Published in the Official Journal of June 28.)

"I can go so far as to answer the honourable gentleman when he asks me whether we contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt. Undoubtedly, of all things in the world that is a thing which we are not going to do. It would be absolutely at variance with all the principles and views of His Majesty's Government and pledges they have given to Europe, and with the views, I may say, of Europe itself" (The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons August 10, 1882.)

"You should intimate to the Egyptian Government that it is the desire of His Majesty's Government to withdraw the troops from Egypt as soon as circumstances permit, that such withdrawal will probably be effected from time to time as the security of the country will allow it, and that His Majesty's Government hope that the time will be very short during which the full number of the present force will be maintained" (Lord Granville, December 29, 1882, Egypt, No. 2 (1883), p. 33.)

"Had I been commissioned to place affairs in Egypt on the footing of an Indian subject State, the outlook would have been different. The masterful hand of a Resident would have quickly bent everything to his will, and in the space of five years we should have greatly added to the material wealth and well-being of the country by the extension of its cultivated area and the consequent expansion of its revenue, by the partial if not total abolition of the Corvée and slavery, the establishment of justice and other beneficent reforms. But the Egyptians would have justly considered these advantages as dearly purchased at the expense of their independence. Moreover, H. M.'s Government have pronounced against such an alternative." (Lord Dufferin's despatch, February 6, 1883, Egypt No. 3 (1883), p. 83.)

"The uncertainty there may be in some portion of the public mind has reference to those desires which tend towards the permanent occupation of Egypt and its incorporation in this Empire. That is a consummation to which we are resolutely opposed, and which we will have nothing to do with bringing about. We are against this doctrine of annexation, we are against everything that resembles or approaches it, and we are against all language that tends to bring about its expectation. We are against it on the ground of our duty to Egypt, we are against it on the ground of the specific interest of England, we are against it on the ground of sacred and solemn pledges given to the world in the most solemn manner and under the most critical circumstances, pledges which have earned for us the confidence of Europe at large during the course of difficult and delicate operations, and which, if one pledge is more solemn and sacred than another, respecting sacredness in this case binds us to observe. We are also sensible that occupation prolonged beyond a certain point may tend to annexation, and consequently it is our object to take the greatest care that the occupation does not gradually take a permanent character. . . . We cannot name a day, and we cannot undertake to name a day, for our final withdrawal, but no effort shall be wanting on our part to bring about that withdrawal as early as possible. The conditions which will enable us to withdraw are those described by Lord Granville—restored order in the state of the country, and the organisation of the proper means for the maintenance of the Khediv's authority. . . . The Rt. Hon. gentleman (R. S. Northcote) has trusted us as if we intended to stay in Egypt until we had brought about institutions which would do credit to Utopia. We have no such views. . . . In popular language,

we mean to give Egypt a fair start, and if we secure it order, supply a civil and military force adequate to the maintenance of order, and with a man on the throne in whose benevolence and justice we have confidence, with institutions for the administration of justice under enlightened supervision and in fairly competent hands, . . . if we have made a fairly reasonable beginning towards legislative institutions into which is incorporated some seed of freedom, our duty may be supposed to be complete." (Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, August 9th 1883.)

"H. M.'s Government are willing that the withdrawal of the troops shall take place at the beginning of the year 1888, provided that the Powers are then of opinion that such withdrawal can take place without risk to peace and order" (Lord Granville's despatch June 16, 1884, Egypt, No. 23 (1884), p. 13.)

"From the first we have steadily kept in view the fact that our occupation was temporary and provisional only. We do not propose to occupy Egypt permanently. . . . On that point we are pledged to this country and pledged to Europe, and if a contrary policy is adopted it will not be by us" (Lord Derby in the House of Lords, February 21st, 1885.)

"It was not open to us to assume the protectorate of Egypt, because His Majesty's Government have again and again pledged themselves that they would not do so. My noble friend has dwelt upon that pledge, and he does us no more than justice when he expresses his opinion that it is a pledge which has been constantly present to our minds. . . . It was undoubtedly the fact that our presence in Egypt, unrecognised by any convention, gave the subjects of the Sultan cause for a suspicion which we did not deserve" (Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords, June 10, 1887.)

"When my noble friend asks us to convert ourselves from guardians into proprietors, . . . and to declare our stay in Egypt permanent. . . . I must say I think my noble friend pays an insufficient regard to the sanctity of the obligations which the Government of the Queen have undertaken and by which they are bound to abide. In such a matter we have not to consider what is the most convenient or what is the more profitable course, we have to consider the course to which we are bound by our own obligations and by European Law" (Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords August 12, 1889.)

"I cannot do otherwise than express my general concurrence. . . . that the occupation of Egypt is in the nature of a burden and a difficulty, and that the permanent occupation of that country would not be agreeable to our traditional policy, and that it would not be consistent with our good faith towards the Suzerain Power, while it would be contrary to the laws of Europe. I certainly shall not set up the doctrine that we have discovered a duty which enables us to set aside the pledges into which we have so freely entered. . . . The thing we cannot do with perfect honour is either to deny that we are under engagement which precluded the idea of an indefinite occupation, or so to construe that indefinite occupation as to hamper the engagements that we are under by collateral considerations" (Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons May 1 1893.)

XII CONCLUSION.

Ten years ago we had recalled these solemn pledges, and we recall them again because a new generation, more deeply interested in politics, and with a wider outlook, is now included among our readers and it seeks enlightenment. What happened to all these pledges the world knows only too well. The Army of Occupation is still in Egypt—the pistol at the nation's breast,—and arrests that are being daily reported tell us only too plainly who rules in Egypt nearly half-a-century after these pledges were given. But they are not yet forgotten in Egypt, and after these pledges the only righteous course for Britain is, as Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul demanded, the other day,

- (a) The withdrawal of all British forces from Egyptian territory
- (b) The withdrawal of the financial and judicial advisers
- (c) The disappearance of all British control over the Egyptian Government, notably in connection with foreign relations, which Zaghlul Pasha claimed were hampered by the notification of the British Government to foreign Powers on the 15th March, 1922, that they would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another Power.
- (d) The abandonment by Britain of her claim to protect foreigners and minorities in Egypt
- (e) The abandonment by Britain of her claim to share in any way in protecting the Suez Canal.
- (f) The recognition of Egypt's complete rights and ownership over the Sudan.

The Mosul Muddle.

Lord Parmoor's Plea.

[From the "Times" Correspondent.]

Brussels, Oct. 27

The extraordinary session of the Council of the League of Nations opened at 3.45 this afternoon in the Marble Hall of the Palais des Academies in Brussels. The President of the Council, M. Hymans, was in the chair, the other members being Lord Parmoor [Great Britain], M. Aristide Briand [France], Signor Orsini Barone [Italy], Viscount Ishii [Japan], Senor Quinones de Leon [Spain], Senhor de Mello-Franco [Brazil], M. Branting [Sweden], M. Politis [Greece], and M. Girza [Czechoslovakia]. Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, was in attendance.

M. Hymans, in opening the meeting, asked Fethi Bey, chief of the Turkish delegation, to take his place at the council table, and turned without further preamble to the question of the northern frontier of Iraq, for which the session had been convoked. He called upon Lord Parmoor for a statement of the British point of view.

Lord Parmoor read in English a long memoir on the question.

After a reminder that the question now before the Council did not relate to the fixing of the frontier between Iraq and Turkey, but was concerned solely with the maintenance of the conditions established by the Treaty in the area through which that frontier will run, Lord Parmoor continued:—"These conditions have to be maintained in accordance with the undertakings given on each side that 'pending the decision to be reached on the subject of the frontier no military or other movements shall take place which might modify in any way the present state of the territories of which the final fate will depend upon that decision.' It is necessary for his Majesty's Government to ask the Council to determine what exactly is involved in the undertakings reciprocally entered into by the British and Turkish Governments by the final paragraph of Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne, and to take such measures as may be deemed appropriate to secure compliance with that undertaking."

Illustrating his points by means of a map, Lord Parmoor then gave particulars of the incidents on the frontier, and went on to say that vigorous representations had been made at Constantinople against the failure of the Turkish Government to withdraw its forces. In view, however, of the present meeting of the Council the British forces in Iraq were instructed to refrain from attacking or driving back the Turkish forces. Nevertheless, in various cases British aircraft on patrol duty within the area to the south of the continuous red line shown on the map have been fired upon by the Turks and have been compelled to defend themselves.

"Both the presence of, and the action taken by, the Turkish forces to the south of the continuous red line is held," Lord Parmoor continued, "by his Majesty's Government to constitute a violation of the undertakings given at Lausanne and Geneva, and his Majesty's Government claim that all these forces should be withdrawn to the north of that line and to the stations which the Turkish forces occupied before July, 1913."

Lord Parmoor went on to say that incidents which had taken place before the movement of the Turkish troops described had given his Majesty's Government just cause for complaint, as they indicated an intention on the part of the Turkish Government to take action which would modify the state of the territories. "From December, 1923, onwards the Turkish Government have constantly protested that British aircraft have made flights over territory in Turkish occupation. These complaints have all been investigated at the time and have formed the subject of notes which have passed

between the two Governments. In general it has been found that the facts alleged by the Turkish Government were inaccurate. The aeroplane patrols maintained by the British forces confine themselves to the area to the south of the continuous red line.

"More recently Turkish protests had been received against the British aeroplane reconnaissances over the area occupied by the Turkish forces to the south of the continuous red line; but his Majesty's Government maintain that they have every right to carry out such reconnaissance work as they may consider necessary anywhere to the south of the continuous red line. It is now more than six weeks since the Turkish forces invaded the areas in which there were no Turkish forces and no Turkish occupation in July 1923. They have even invaded the area which was under effective Iraq control at that date.

Relying on the undertaking given by Fethi Bey at Geneva on September 30, his Majesty's Government have refrained from any action to restore the *status quo*, but the Council will readily understand that the present situation produces a most deplorable effect upon the inhabitants of the area in question, and that if it continues there will be great danger of disturbances and possibly bloodshed. For the credit of the League of Nations and for the proper accomplishment of the local inquiries which must precede the fixing of the frontier by the Council of the League it is essential that loyal compliance with the undertakings given on either side in Article 3 (2) of the Treaty of Lausanne and repeated at Geneva on September 30 should be secured.



Progress of League Inquiry.

[From the "Times" Correspondent]

Brussels, Oct. 28.

The Council of the League of Nations held no public sitting to-day, but met in private to deal with administrative questions.

M. Branting, the new Swedish Prime Minister, who is *rapporteur* in the matter of the Mosul frontiers, heard the British delegate this morning and the Turkish delegates this afternoon, and a public sitting of the Council will be held at 4 p.m. to-morrow.

The Council has appointed Senor Guan (Uruguay) and Senor Quinones de Leon (Spain) as assistants to the *rapporteur*.

M. Paulis, a former colonel of Belgian Artillery, and now director of colonial companies operating in the Belgian Congo, is to proceed to Mosul in company with Count Paul Telecki, a former Hungarian Prime Minister, and a Swedish diplomatist, both of whom had already been nominated by the Council for the purpose of investigating on the spot all questions relating to economic and geographical conditions in order to report to the Council with detailed information in connexion with the decisions to be taken.

The meeting of the Committee of the Council which was to have taken place on November 17 to deal with the preliminary work in the preparation and fixing of the programme for the Disarmament Conference has been adjourned. The Council itself will carry out the work of preparation during its meeting in Rome on December 10.

The Greco-Turkish question with regard to the exchange of Greeks in Constantinople will be considered by the Council in the course of the present session. The Greek and Turkish delegates instructed to deal with the question are expected in Brussels on Friday. Fethi Bey is concerned only with the Mosul dispute.



"Chanak Manoeuvres" Repeated.

[From the "Times" Correspondent.]

Constantinople, Oct. 27.

There has been a sudden outburst of telegrams in the Turkish Press, taken often from foreign sources, suggesting that the situation on the Iraq frontier is again critical, owing to British concentrations

and adding that even the French are sending troops in that direction in case of trouble.

In a flamboyant article in the *Jumhuriyet*; the deputy Aghaoglou Ahmed, replying to the recent speech by Mr. Thomas, declares that if Great Britain has determined, in spite of Turkish conciliatoriness, to make war on Turkey, he regards this probability with *sang froid*, and will not hesitate for one single minute. Moreover, this morning's *Teshud-i-Efkiar*, while saying that such telegrams should be accepted with reserve, and are probably false, also says that in case of war the Bolsheviks would probably help Turkey.

I understand from an independent source that the accusations against the British are quite false, but that the situation has been aggravated because it is the Turks who are again coming right up to our lines much as they did at the time of the Chanak crisis. It seems therefore as if the Turks were putting out messages accusing us of doing the very things of which they are themselves guilty.



Ismet Pasha on his Stewardship.

[From the "Times" Correspondent]

Constantinople, Oct. 26.

General Ismet Pasha's review of the work of his Cabinet during the six months of recess, delivered yesterday at the meeting of the Popular Party, occupied four hours, and it was decided to adjourn the real discussions until Tuesday. It is impossible, therefore, to say whether any serious opposition will manifest itself, but it is noticeable that an attempt to arrange beforehand in a party meeting the subject and limit of any criticism addressed to the Government was rejected, and Ismet Pasha himself professed a desire that deputies should have a free hand.

According to the meagre accounts so far available, the bulk of the Bash Vekil's speech contained little that was striking. He expressed himself satisfied generally with both the foreign and the internal situations, and declared that the regular payment of the salaries of officials was unprecedented in the financial annals of his country. Measures for the improvement of the position of the Turkish immigrants (under the Exchange of Populations Convention) would be increased. Their interests would now be confided to the provincial governors, and since it had been found that the proportion of 20 per cent. of the property abandoned by Greeks was insufficient for their accommodation, this proportion would be augmented.

Ismet Pasha went on to say that it was absolutely false to assert that the Turks had wished to transform the question of the interpretation of the word "established," as used of Greek residents in Constantinople in the Treaty of Lausanne, into a *fait accompli*. The Turks were respecting their engagements. Due formalities had been carried out in the case of the Greeks already sent away, and they had in no way attempted to interfere with the affairs of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations.

This statement is important in view of what is happening in Brussels, and reads rather curiously, as the Mixed Commission found it necessary to issue this morning a *communiqué* in which the authority of the Constantinople Sub-commission is emphatically reaffirmed.

The rest of Ismet Pasha's speech was occupied with an account of the measures taken for the improvement of the Law Courts, the Bar, the schools, and the plans for the abolition of the Regie, and for an intensified campaign against the ravages of malaria.



The Wahabi Sultan.

[From a Correspondent of the "Times."]

THE case for the Wahabi Sultan of Nejd in the present struggle in Arabia has yet to be set forth, in order that the real issue in his quarrel with the former King of the Hejaz may be clearly understood. It is well, first, to review briefly the relations that have existed between Nejd, the Hejaz, and the Turkish Government during the past few years.

Every one interested in Middle Eastern politics is aware that King Hussein, who was formerly known as the Grand Sherif of Mecca, although nominally a Turkish vassal, had been for years awaiting an opportunity to shake off the Ottoman yoke, and his action in cooperating with the Allies in the late war need have occasioned no surprise. In 1913 Ibn Saud, then Emir of Nejd, who was equally averse from acknowledging Turkish authority, ejected the Turkish garrisons from Hasa and Katif, on the shore of the Persian Gulf, probably relying upon British assistance in the event of an attempt being made by Constantinople to re-establish them, as he was fully aware of the importance of the Persian Gulf to British interests.

A few months after the execution of this *coup-de-main*, on hearing that some such action was contemplated, he actually applied for support and was informed in May 1914, that his Majesty's Government was unable to intervene, and that he must look after himself. This was undoubtedly a disappointment, but Ibn Saud, who has plenty of intelligence, took a statesmanlike view of this, the only possible reply. It is to his credit that the refusal to aid him in no way affected the cordial friendship which Captain Shakespear the late Political Agent at Koweit, acting on behalf of the British Government, had established with him. Before the Turks could organize an expedition into Nejd, war broke out in Europe, and thenceforward more important considerations absorbed their attention.

The proposed expedition was shelved, much to the satisfaction of Ibn Saud, who, in common with the Sheikh of Koweit and other Arab chiefs, saw in Turkish participation in the war an additional possibility for securing complete independence for himself. Free now to look after local interests, he turned his attention to Ibn Rashid and his tribe, the Shammar, who were lifelong enemies of the Nejd, and more definitely allied to Turkey than they had ever been, and prepared to renew hostilities with them.

On the entry of Turkey into the war Captain Shakespear was recalled from leave in Europe and sent on a special mission to Ibn Saud. This was, perhaps unnecessary, as the Emir needed no prompting to abstain from joining our enemies (and his), and it is difficult to see how he could usefully have participated in active measures against the Turks, even if he had anything to gain by so doing, in view of the absolute necessity of first preserving his line of communications by destroying all possibility of attack by the Shammar and other hostile tribes whose territory lay between his own and the Turkish dominions. Captain Shakespear joined Ibn Saud in January, 1915, and almost immediately lost his life in a battle with the Shammar. This battle had no definite result, and Ibn Saud decided to abstain from further operations for the time being. The Grand Sherif of Mecca, on the other hand, had much to gain by attacking the Turks and was favourably situated for the purpose. The useful part played by him with our help is a matter of history. Unfortunately, we went a little too far in the way of favours shown and promises made to him, and he became spoilt to an extent which made subsequent negotiations rather difficult.

Some misunderstanding undoubtedly exists regarding Ibn Saud's former attitude towards King Hussein. He had no objection to the title of "King of the Hejaz" being given to the Grand Sherif so long as there was no idea of extending Hashimite jurisdiction to include any of the territories administered by himself. Certain localities have been in dispute between Nejd and the Hejaz for years, and the recent hostilities are primarily connected with them, and not with jealousy of titles and personal greatness. The Wahabi Sultan is too sensible to pay much attention to these, but he is tenacious of the territorial rights of his State, and honestly believes that the lands in dispute should be included therein. Five years ago a proposal was made that he and King Hussein should meet and discuss their differences amicably, and Ibn Saud was ready then, as he has been since, to meet the King of Hejaz half-way. But King Hussein refused then and repeated the refusal this year in declining either to attend the Conference recently held at Koweit in connexion with Arab boundary questions or to send a delegate to represent him.

In face of this contemptuous attitude on his part there is small wonder that the Wahabi Sultan should have taken the law into his own hands, and the British Government has been well advised to stand aloof in view of the neglect of King Hussein to fall in with its proposals. Had he done this there is no doubt that means might have been found to avoid the present situation, which has caused consternation throughout the Moslem world. Ibn Saud's Prime Minister remarked to me a few years ago: "The Emir doesn't want subsidy from the British Government, he wants justice in his case with the King of the Hejaz." The Wahabis may perhaps be described as fanatical in their desire to purify the religion of Islam, as professed by many communities, from the abuses which they believe to have been introduced into both faith and practice. But there is no reason to suppose that the Wahabi Sultan would interfere with, much less forbid, the annual pilgrimage. On the contrary, he is more likely to arrange facilities and to cause the abolition of the abuses and hardships to pilgrims which were said to exist both under the Turkish regime and that of King Hussein. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the transfer of the Hejaz to the rule of the Wahabi Sultan would be prejudicial to Moslem interests generally. Whoever may rightfully have been the owners of the localities which were in dispute before the present Wahabi campaign, Ibn Saud had a substantial grievance in the contemptuous refusal of King Hussein to meet him in conference, and non-intervention on the part of the British Government seems to be entirely in accordance with the principles of justice and fair play—not to mention the obvious fact that the dispute does not concern us, even though we may have endeavoured to promote a peaceful settlement by means of good offices.

"The Council."

By The Hon. Mr. GUP.

As large a chapter as the wind to blow on whom I please
--As You Like It.

A large number of old subscribers of *The Comrade* have pressed us to reprint the humorous descriptions of Council Debates from its *Gup* columns. This they desire partly in order to revive old memories themselves and partly to introduce "the Hon. Mr. Gup" to the new generation which, although it is not unacquainted with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sir Trevelyan Wynne, and Sir Gangadhar Chitambar, and had known the late Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, certainly did not know them as "The Bombay Duck," "Bootlair Sahib," "Suren," "Cheery Chitambar," "the Mild Hindu" and "Bhupen Babu" whose Council activities were chronicled in *The Comrade* perhaps with greater truth than accuracy. If a large enough number of intending purchasers send in names for registration and book their orders, we shall gladly reprint this lively chronicle and re-present the figures of those that had played their part on the Council stage from ten to fifteen years ago from the "Eiffel-towering personality" of the Hon. Mr. Longfellow to a tiny predecessor of Lord Lytton looking every inch a Lieutenant-Governor."

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The Comrade.

A Weekly Review.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

William Morris.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
OUR BOMBAY LETTER ..	81	PARTY SPLIT IN TURKEY--	
VERSE -		Ismet's Cabinet and the	
Ad Interim	82	"Opposition," ..	92
Love and Life	95	Resignation of Generals	92
IN MOJIBER'S MEMORY III	83	Attack on Government	93
Anecdote	84	Flight of Refugees ...	93
TELE-A-TELE -		Lines of Passage	93
Education Ministers ..	81	First Break since the War	94
All Parties Conference Committee	95	An Opposition in Turkey	94
LEADING ARTICLES--		Republans Stricter Discipline	94
Party Split in Turkey	85	GANDHI AT CASASSA	94
Gharib Shah Mosque	87	ADVERTISEMENTS ..	96
Gup--			
"Anarchy in Bengal"			
/ - at 8 Andrew's Dinner	89		

Our Bombay Letter.

[BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

Bombay, 26th November, 1924

Bombay has had a lively time during the last week or so. The All-Parties Conference invited by Maulana Mohamed Ali had drawn a large number of distinguished Indians to this beautiful Island. There was no end of speculation as to what would be the net result. Bombay is fond of excitement whether it be in the share market or on the Race course or in some domestic squabble in which well-known persons are concerned.

Mrs. Besant had arrived early. She had to receive the young Madras gentleman who is to be the future 'Autar.'

Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Mohamed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari came together by the Delhi Express reaching Bombay early on the 20th. Deshbandhu Das and his Bengal party, which included Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, arrived by the Nagpur Mail an hour later. Mrs. Das was with them. What a sweet woman she is?

Maulana Shaukat Ali was also in the same train, which he caught at Raipur after finishing the C. P. Khilafat Conference. From Nagpur several giants of the Liberal Party got into the train including the two Ex-Ministers Mr. Chitnavis and Rao Bahadur Kelkar. I am informed that all the "lions and the lambs" met together on the

journey and discussed the present situation, without tearing each other to pieces. Maulana Shaukat Ali told me that he was in the same compartment with Messrs. Chitnavis and Kelkar (old Chindwara friends), Naidu and Brahmin. They freely discussed the Bengal Ordinance, and all denounced it equally strongly, only they were not clear as to what to do if the Government did not come to its senses and withdrew it. These Liberals were thoroughly disillusioned.

It was rather amusing to hear a red-hot C. P. Maharatta Swarajist who joined them on the journey. The Maulana was a silent and amused spectator. This Swarajist was honest and clear. He said, he and his party believed in Responsive Co-operation, and the whole of the Swarajist Party and the rest of India will have to accept it in the long run. The Liberals mumbled something about the "obdurate Ministers," and the young man at once accepted their assertion.

So far as the C. P. Maharashtra Swarajists are concerned and with them should be counted the "Poona Kelkar group," they believe in and mean to act up to the slogans of "Responsive Co-operation" versus the "orthodox Non-Co-operation", their "obdurate Ministers" versus the Liberal members who they say were 'pliant'. So the country must be soon prepared to see Swarajist "obdurate Ministers" taking the place of the disillusioned "Liberal pliant Ministers." By the way Messrs Chintamani and Jagat Narain were not very pliant. How Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilalji swallow this pill remains to be seen.

Mahatma Gandhi, though still weak, is feeling ever so much better than before. The fast really did him good both mentally and physically. Dr. Ansari and his colleagues had a rough time of it, and the doctor confessed to me that he would never like to have another patient like that. At times he thought that his precious patient would hardly survive the night-- but in the morning found him better! Whatsoever others might say but I have no hesitation in saying that Mahatmajji was really cruel the way he caused pain to his devoted co-workers, and he should never repeat that torture. His appetite is better and he is more cheerful. Yet, Dr. Ansari is not satisfied as Mahatmajji is not picking up strength as quickly as he ought to. The doctor was mentioning to me that he feels inclined to write in simple language the history of this extraordinary case. There are some points in it for which he finds no scientific explanation. Do, dear Comrade ask him to write for you* He is so near to you.

*Dr. Ansari is already doing it for THE COMRADE. E.J. COMRADE.

Seth Revashanker Jagjivan's house is known to every Bombayite and to all prominent Non-Co-operators in the country. It is Mahatma's head-quarters and when he is there, Revashanker Bhai and his family retire to a room or two and efface themselves. We all love them for this. There was always a crowd in front of the house this time and a score of motors and carriages. Inside the house in spite of the presence of the energetic volunteers guarding and controlling the callers, "congestion of traffic" was visible. Mahatma saw practically all the heads of the parties and patiently explored with them all the avenues for a re-united Congress. He gave hours to Messrs Chintamani, Shastri, the Non-Brahmin leaders and Mrs. Besant. Deshbandhu Das and Panditji were always with him. Though last yet ever so far from being the least, Mr. Jinnah took nearly three hours, and Mahatma and the Swarajists leaders had to retire with him to a separate room, as the fastidious man could not talk before a "crowd." He did look "a gay butterfly" in his immaculate English clothes, but was rather incongruous in that room full of white, simple, Khadder-clad people squatting on the ground. Mahatma straightway offered him a chair as he could not get rid of his "buttoned boots." While they were discussing things inside at such great length, a great leader of men whispered to me, "I who at a pinch could get a few lakhs to follow me can't get three minutes with the 'Chief' while Mr. Jinnah gets three solid hours and cannot command three followers!"

By 4 p.m. on the 21st Muzaffarabad Hall was full to suffocation, and there was a huge crowd of people outside in the grounds and on the bridge and on the road leading to it. And such a great demand for tickets of admission. I will not give the speeches. You must have read them in the daily press. The Liberals were present in their strength and I must say looked very dignified and, I think, behaved well too. I liked the Madras Non-Brahmins more than their brothers of the Bombay Presidency as represented by Mr. Surve. They were more lively and never dull, which means there is hope for them. However the Karnatic Non-Brahmins were certainly the best. Mr. Chikodi and his friends are true patriots and thanks to that jewel of a man, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, all bitterness is disappearing in that beautiful little province.

I regret to say that with the exception of some of the leaders the rank and file of the Swarajists were unnatural in their behaviour. They affected a nonchalance which they did not feel in their hearts, and, I am afraid, their manners were against them. They thought more of their party and less of the country.

The real Non-Co-operators, the No-Changers, were in a bad plight. They did not object to giving as much to the Swarajists as they wanted. They would give the whole Congress, and then they would be free to go before the country with a clear programme. Every one knows that Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers are staunch believers in Civil Disobedience as the only method that would bring success. What pained them was that even in the face of such a grave crisis before the country the Swarajists were thinking more of petty party gains. They are very proud of their "tactics", and appear to believe in the policy of "grab." They may think in their conceit that they have fooled Mahatma Gandhi and "dished" his co-workers. They can do so and feel proud and jubilant, but I would sooner be fooled a thousand times in the company of a brave and honest man than triumph with those who cannot appreciate a generous and chivalrous act. Compare the reply of the Swarajists to the simple and earnest appeal of Maulana Shaukat Ali with the grave and noble words of Mahatma Gandhi when he told his co-workers in their private meeting in the Muzaffarabad Hall when no outsider was present and no acting was needed, "to-day you should not do anything to lower the prestige of the Swarajists but do all you can to raise it." As for that meaningless "Note" which the Swarajists in their consultation meeting decided to add to the agreement, it is insulting. Somebody correctly said it was not even an eye-wash, but dust and a kick in the eye. All this would however, do us good. Let it be our penance and our 21 days' fast.

The Conference, on the whole, was a great success. Mahatma and Maulana Mohamed Ali are to be congratulated on it. How I wish I could have included in my felicitations Swarajist leaders also.

Mr. Jinnah wants the Muslim League to meet at Bombay. He has invited the Mohamedan Educational Conference also with it. I suppose the two are combined to give him a decent sized reactionary audience. Let us see what they do.

I hear the Nejd and Hejaz Khilafat Delegation would be leaving by the 15th of December by S. S. *Jehangir*. May they succeed in bringing peace to the Holy Hejaz. Friends of Sharif Husain and his family are carrying on a mischievous propaganda in the city of Bombay where there is always an unfortunate crowd of "scribes" who would write for any cause provided they are paid for it. Even they find it hard to abuse Ibn-i-Sa'ud. His general attitude and his actions have both been very correct and for once true words have been spoken out boldly that "the whole Muslim world has a voice in the affairs of the Holy Hejaz. And it is the victor in possession and not the invader merely who speaks out like this. The vanquished is still scheming and sending Doctor Najr-ul-Aseel to England for begging help and negotiating a revised Treaty."

Now to more cheerful things. Bombay will soon have the annual Cricket Carnival and this year all the three Indian teams will be good. The Hindu batting is strong and no wonder it is so with Kankaya Naidu, Vethal, Deodhar, Jai, Navab and Joshi of Ludore. The bowling is not so strong. Joshi and Ogadh Shanker will have to bear the brunt. The Parsees have the great and veteran Col. K. Mistry of Patiala playing this year. They say J. S. Warden is as good as ever. If so, he will be a tower of strength to his side. Vajifdar and Dolly Kapadia are there and they say the two other Kapadias are also good. In Colah they have a man from whom great things are expected. Kalapasi is a bowler they rely on besides Warden, Elavia and others. It is a good side.

For once the Mussalmans too have a good team. I am glad Bhopal is sending a big contingent, though all will be sorry to see that Prince Hamidullah would not be there to command the side. Salamuddin, K. M. Akram, Abdul Salam, Khan Mohamed, Hasan Shah and Wazeer will be coming. Tamboowalla and Botawalla are also there. They have experienced bowlers in Salamuddin, Abdul Salam, Khan Mohamed and Wazeer besides Tamboowalla and others. It would be interesting to watch the game, but I am afraid I would be away, having a more strenuous game to play on which depends the fate of Islam and of India.

Mahatma Gandhi went on the 24th to Sabarmati and would stay there upto the 1st or 2nd, when he joins Maulana Shaukat Ali at Delhi. They will attend the Khilafat Conference at Amritsar on the 5th December and the Provincial Conference at Lahore on the 6th December. They then go to Rawalpindi to meet the Kohat people and then tour in the Punjab upto the 15th when Mahatma will be returning to Sabarmati before going to Belgaum. He has accepted the Presidentship of the Congress and you may safely expect a clear lead for work in the year of grace 1925.



AD INERTIAM.

Nymph of the placid brow and eyes serene!
Sister of soft-eyed Peace and mild Content!
That lov'st to dwell at ease, 'mid song and scent,
In blossomed groves or shady coverts green;
That in cool streams, bright poppied banks between,
Dost lave thy languid limbs 'neath branches bent
To intertwine for thee a leafy tent
Safe from man's gaze and Phoebus' arrows keen,
I fly to thee! O wrap me in thine arms,
And lull my head upon thy gentle breast,
That, tangled in the mazes of thy charms,
My soul may lose its fever and unrest,
And be unmoved 'midst all the dread alarms
Of earthly life which haggard cares molest.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

In Mother's Memory. III.

(BY MOHAMED ALI)

TO judge the full significance of mother's decision to give us modern Western education, one must first understand the prejudice that prevailed against such education in Upper India. It had been the centre of Muslim political life for eight centuries, and even when the rule of India passed away from Muslim hands by slow and hardly perceptible degrees in the century between the battle of Plassey and the Indian Mutiny, the Musalmans of Upper India did not cease to regard the new rulers of India as something very inferior to themselves in civilization and culture. "This storm of ill-will and disdain had been gathering for a whole century, and was precipitated, among other things, by the aggressive activity of Christian missionaries. The Mutiny began near Calcutta as an affair of the sepoys; but in the storm-centre of our province, where it had to be fought out if English rule was to continue in India, it soon attracted to itself many forms of discontent which had been gathering force and volume for more than a generation, and religion was inextricably mixed up with politics. Although so many Musalmans had at enormous risk assisted the English, at a time when hardly any one could have predicted their eventual success with any degree of assurance, it was the Muslim aristocracy in the province that suffered most in the terrible aftermath of the Mutiny. In fact, in its permanent results even more than in some of its terrors, it could, without any considerable exaggeration, be compared with the social upheaval that the French Revolution meant to the old nobility of France. The remnants of Muslim aristocracy, deprived of influence and of many of their possessions, certainly did not expect the return of the Muslim rule. Nevertheless a whole generation kept sullenly aloof from all contact with the culture of the new rulers of India, which in their heart of hearts they still despised. Musalmans of these regions were in no mood to take advantage of the education provided by the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, founded in the very year in which the Mutiny convulsed these provinces. The Punjab had to do without a University for another quarter of a century, and even then it had to interlard English education with a great display of the encouragement of Oriental lore. Our own province had to wait for some years longer; and then, too, it was not the University established by Government that induced the bulk of Musalmans to throw off their old prejudices against English education but one projected by a Musalman of Delhi who strenuously protested against the complete divorce of religions from secular learning. Few indeed can realize to-day the feelings of those Upper India Muslims who sulked in their tents for so long, or the difficulties of pioneers of English education among them like Syed Ahmed Khan, who founded within two decades of the Mutiny the Aligarh College, which is now the first chartered Muslim University in India.

The attitude of Indian Musalmans towards English culture and education took an even more hostile form in our own State of Rampur. It was the only tract in the province still under an Indian and a Muslim ruler, and was on that account a veritable oasis in the surrounding "British" India. The principal inhabitants of Rampur were, like those of the rest of Rohilkhand, descendants of Rohillas that had come from Afghanistan. Warren Hastings had fought against the Rohillas one of the most unpopular of wars for a purely mercenary reason, when British forces were, so to speak, hired by the ruler of Oudh, and the State of Rampur was the remnant of their independent territory which had extended *az Sang ta Gang* (i.e. from the Himalayas to the Ganges). They could not bear much love for the English whose services had been obtained against them in exchange for hard cash. When the Mutiny broke out and raged in all its fury at Meerut and Delhi, both within a hundred miles of Rampur, it soon spread to the surrounding Rohilla country. Nevertheless the ruler of Rampur actually rendered invaluable assistance to the hard-pressed

British from that isolated centre in spite of the unpopularity of the British cause among the Rohillas. This unpopularity before long involved the ruler himself, who had otherwise been very popular, and deserved to be loved by his subject for his great generosity. In fact, it is related that his own soldiers when changing guards outside his sleeping apartment, and pointing out the various articles of value in their charge to the relieving soldiers, would mention last of all his gold bed and then conclude the list with the bitter "aside" "And the infidel that sleeps in that gold bed!" After the Mutiny, when neither the Court of Delhi, nor even that of Lucknow, was left to attract the remnant of Muslim learning, Rampur could still offer it a refuge and an asylum. The next ruler, who has left to his successors the legacy of many of the most valuable Arabic and Persian manuscripts which they greatly cherish, and which make with the many additions made by them the finest collection in all India, was himself no mean scholar. This emphasised the cultural conservatism of Rampur all the more, and marked it out from the rest of the province, even though, as we have seen, it bore little love for the new learning. Its antagonism to English education may well be judged from an amusing incident that occurred towards the end of the last century. In course of time even that little bit of old unadulterated India came to be connected with the rest of the world by telegraph wires, and one day a Rampur Pathan had the surprise of his life in getting a telegram. It was, of course, in English; and when he and his friends had recovered from the first shock of surprise, they had now to face the inevitable problem, who was to decipher this strange message from a heathen world? At last somebody happened to remember that some of the boys of our family had been sent away to learn English, and mentioned this to the perplexed recipient of the telegraphic message. The moment he offered this solution of the difficulty, the rest of the company expressed their pious disbelief in the information, and one of them burst out. "*Astaghfirullah!* [God forgive!] What do you say? My dear man, they are *gentlemen!*"

Well "gentlemen though we believe ourselves to be, we had nevertheless been impious enough to study English" even though we had to leave Rampur for the sake of education. There was fortunately for us a very enlightened and progressive gentleman then at Rampur who had himself received English education at the Bareilly High School. This was the late Azimuddin Khan, General of the Rampur forces, who was subsequently for many years before his tragic death at the hand of murderers at the head of the Rampur administration, and did so much to reform it. He had sent to Bareilly High School some of his relations also, but he was anxious to get as many young members of the Rampur aristocracy educated as possible, and although there was a kind of political rivalry between him and our uncles, he had nevertheless induced them to send one or two of their children to that school. Not many of these remained for long at Bareilly, but he succeeded so well with our mother, whom he came to interview himself from the other side of the *purdah*, that one after another no less than four of us went to school, and it was only my eldest brother, who was an epileptic from his infancy, that did not learn English - except the little that he had learnt in father's lifetime from the local "Teacher Sahib," and perhaps also from father's secretary. Women are generally more religious, or, at least, more conservative and more superstitious than men; but mother, although she was intensely religious, was remarkably free from prejudice and from superstition. The moment she was approached by General Azimuddin Khan Sahab, she consented to send Zulfikar Bhai to Bareilly, and people wondered that any mother should have been so lacking in love for her children as to send them away from home while they were still so young.

Zulfikar Bhai's progress at school pleased mother so much that in the following year she decided to send Shaukat also to Bareilly, keeping at home only Nawazish Bhai, the father of Sadiq, to memorise the Quran, besides our eldest invalid brother and, of course, myself. But when mother wanted our uncle who looked after our property to pay for Shaukat's schooling also, he flatly refused, remarking in all sincerity, but also with all the bitterness

characteristic of the times, and, more specially of the place, that one "Infidel" [was bad enough in family]

But our mother was determined, and secretly pawned some personal jewelry of her own with the help of the maid-servant of a Hindu neighbour who was a banker, and packed off the second would-be "Infidel" of the family also to Bareilly. He was sent with the assurance that she had enough money in her own hand now to pay for his schooling at least for sometime to come. When our uncle had been thus outwitted by a resolute woman, whose self-reliance throughout a long life of hardships and difficulties had only been equalled by her implicit trust in the bountiful providence of God, he got her trinkets released from pawn, and paid for the schooling of both of his nephews, from the proceeds of our property. And so, when yet another "Infidel" sought perdition, he accepted the inevitable, and I proceeded to Bareilly without any clandestine negotiations of mother with a pawn-broker's maid. As in so many other things in my life, Shaukat had thus paved the way for me and made it smooth.



Anecdote.

Carl Hertz, the great juggler and illusion king, is fond of recalling how he once served a race-course sharp with a dose of his own medicine. The crook was operating the pea-under-the-thimble swindle, and had already reaped a nice harvest from his dupes. Carl Hertz arrived on the scene to hear the following appeal:—

"Now, ladies, gents and noblemen, I offer you the opportunity of a lifetime. Here in my hand I have a small pea. You will observe that I shall place this pea under one of these thimbles. Perfectly plain, isn't it? No deception at all. Now, I am prepared to bet any gent present that he won't spot the thimble the little joker is under."

"I'll bet you five shillings I can," said the juggler, assuming the expression of a confiding innocent.

The bet was accepted with alacrity, the thimble raised, and the pea disclosed by the triumphant Hertz.

The swindler's expression of astonishment was a study for the gods. Thinking that the sleight-of-hand must have failed for once, he repeated the experiment and doubled the stakes, but only with the same result. Again the procedure was repeated, and once again the smiling Carl withdrew the pea from the thimble he had selected. This was too much for the baffled sharp, who, with a despairing gesture and appropriate strong language, cried, recklessly:—

"Lord lumme, this beats the band! Why, I've got the bloomin' pea in me 'and all the time!"

"Quite so," replied Hertz, sweetly, as he moved off, "but you see, I always make a point of carrying my own pea."

Sickert and Whistler were once printing etchings together, when the former dropped a copper plate. "How like you," said Whistler. Five minutes afterwards Whistler dropped one himself. There was a pause. "How unlike me," was his remark.

A wealthy Canadian named Cass came to London with a reputation as a clever financier. He gave many people "ups" about stocks and, in consequence, they were nearly ruined.

"I can't understand it," said one of the victims, "I always thought Cass was so clever."

"I dare say he *was* in Canada," said Lord Marcus, Beresford, "but I suppose, crossing the C., he's become an ass!"

TETE TETE



A CORRESPONDENT writes to us as follows: "We have had three samples of Education Ministership.

Education Ministers. In the Punjab the one-sided policy succeeded in thoroughly annoying the Hindus and pleasing only a section of Musalmans. In Bengal the Orator tried to please both sides and ended by losing all. The Beharee 'Juggler' who cleverly turned two thousand into four thousand, with an eye to re-appointment for the third time, pursued a policy of 'All for the majority' who will elect the third minister. Only one alternative remains to be tried. A National Educational Minister named sometime ago by Mahatma Gandhi, should the Swaraj dreamed by him ever become a reality—a man who will keep the scales evenly balanced." We had considerable diffidence in publishing this, as we came to know, not so long ago, who the National Educational Minister was whom Mahatma Gandhi had named. We have consulted that individual, and he informs us that when Swaraj is achieved the one occupation that he would choose for himself, should he be given the choice, would be to have a small school of little boys—and girls—preferably not above the age of ten, and generally 7 or 8 years old, whom he would like to teach and bring up entirely in his own way. More ambitious schemes of National Education he would leave for others, though he, too, had to try his prentice hand at one such scheme for the National Muslim University at Aligarh, which we shall deal with in an early issue of *The Comrade*. Not that there is no ambition in having a school of little children. When Shah Jahan was a prisoner of Aurangzeb, and the son was willing to give everything to the father except his liberty—which would have meant giving away his own head—Shah Jahan only asked for some boys to teach. On hearing of this, his astute son remarked.

سود حکومت هنوز از دماغش زلفت

[The fumes of power have not yet left his brain.]

There is certainly no autocrat greater than a schoolmaster. But even this ambition is fast ebbing away. The Educational Minister Designate of Mahatma's Republic, if that dream came true early enough, would ask for nothing more than a year's holiday, and the first use to which he would put it would be—to go to sleep! Another correspondent writes to us that "twenty-six columns of *The Comrade* are devoured much too quickly by your readers, and I would suggest your increasing it to at least forty. Raising of the price cannot be thought of, but every effort will be made by your subscribers to enlarge their circle." After the "Blessed Restoration" there arose a school of aristocratic gentleman-writers who considered it vulgar for a gentleman to take pains with his writing. They fancied "easy writing." Congreve wrote of these very truly. "It may be *easy writing*; but it is *d—d hard reading*!" Well, twenty-six columns may or may not be devoured much too quickly; but it takes horribly long to write the major portion of them.

may be *easy reading*, but it is *d—d hard writing*. Three whole nights a week passed out of bed on these cold nights in order to bring out the week's *Comrade*, and half of the other nights passed in the same way, while the days are devoted to the *Hamdard*; to the business side of these undertakings, and to national work in connection with the Congress and the Khilafat *does* make one long for a year's holiday and—for sleep. May the Mahatma's dream come true soon enough, and then be time to bed, to sleep—perchance to dream!

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PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU sends us the following for publication:

"The proposers and seconders of names for the Committee appointed by the All Parties' Conference held in Bombay omitted at the time to give the designations and full addresses of the gentlemen elected to the said Committee. The undersigned will be obliged if the gentlemen elected or their proposers and seconders will now furnish him with their addresses and the names of the parties or associations to which they belong." He also writes:—

"In pursuance of a resolution passed by the Committee appointed by the All Parties' Conference at Bombay on the 22nd November 1924, the undersigned invites the Secretaries of all political parties and associations in the country to send the suggestions of their organisations as to the basis on which, in their opinion, union of all parties is possible within the Congress. Suggestions should reach the undersigned before the 20th of December, 1924." We invite the attention of all concerned to the above notice issued by Pandit Motilal Nehru as the Secretary of the Committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference recently held in Bombay. We have often marked that the scramble for membership of such Committee is at times too great to allow either the electors or the elected to bear in mind the limited number of candidates required for a Committee of manageable and working proportions. The list of proposed names swells like Birth-day Honours List to an unnecessary extent and the persons interested in their own or in their friend's election often forget in their zeal even the claims of decency. Probably the very worst example of such excessive zeal is the huge Committee that has been "elected" through the simple process forced on Mahatma Gandhi of adding *every* name that was proposed to the Committee that he had himself with sufficient forethought named in his resolution and to which he had given the power to co-opt other members whenever necessary. It has been said that the Government of India is "a despotism of despatch-boxes tempered by the loss of keys!" Perhaps the only good feature of the Committee that has been recently "elected" is that the designations and addresses of so many of its members are unknown. "That is certainly no disadvantage—unless, of course, those unknown members know that they *have been* "elected" and remind the world of their existence. We publish Pandit Motilal Nehru's request, but may we appeal to most of these Committeemen *not* to comply with it? We hope many will resign at an early date. We could have consoled ourselves with the hope that many would not, at any rate, take the trouble of turning up; but, alas! we know that the man you would give anything to keep away is just the man who would turn up from the ends of the earth to meddle with and to muddle everything. We are more than doubtful of the success of our appeal; but we persist and offer to many of these men who intend to attend the meetings of this unwieldy Committee the famous advice that *Punch* offered to those who intended to marry: "DON'T!"

The Comrade.

Party Split in Turkey.

INDIAN Mussalmans, and particularly those that had taken a leading part in work connected with the Khilafat, have very properly remained reticent with regard to affairs in Turkey. Those Mussalmans who have read and understood what it was that the abortive Treaty of Sevres contemplated against Turkey and Islam can never adequately thank Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his Angora colleagues for the salvation their magnificent and heroic efforts brought to the temporal power of Islam. And those who realise that there is no room in Islam for a Vaticanized Pope—the Head of a Church without temporal power—and that in the world of Islam there can be no such lacerating distinctions as spiritual and temporal, that the religion of Islam is neither *other-worldly* nor *worldly*, but only *unworldly*, and that the Last of the Prophets (on whom be God's benedictions and peace)

از کلید دین در دنیا کشاد

(opened the door of the world with the key of the faith)—those who realise all this can never be too thankful to the President of the Turkish Republic for what he enabled his country to achieve for the entire world of Islam, even though to-day his ideas about the *real* character of his success may be very different from these.

What his ideas on the subject of Islam are we shall be unable to understand in their entirety unless the Indian Khilafat Delegation receives its passports for Turkey and is thus enabled to talk things over with him. But we welcome the following indication of his religious views in one particular which we glean from a paragraph published in the *Daily Dispatch* of Manchester:—

The irreligious attitude of the new rulers of Turkey seems to be emphasised by the report that Mustafa Kemal, on inaugurating a hospital at Caesarea, led the Assembly in prayer himself, instead of leaving the function to the official Imam of the locality.

If this is all "the irreligious attitude of the new rulers of Turkey," then we have more than a meaking preference for it as compared with the "old fashioned Turkish opinion" which this act of the President of Republic is said to be "calculated to offend." The writer admits that there is, of course, no priesthood in Islam, and Kemal's act cannot be described as in any way sacrilegious. This is not all, for it is certainly *not* "of a piece with the spirit that abolished the Khilafat," and if Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha does not love a Khalifa who would only mumble and mutter prayers all day long and repeat his beads, we may tell him we love such a Khalifa still less. What we want is a Commander of the Faithful who would lead the Armies of Islam on the field of battle like the Ghazi himself, and thereafter lead them in the Mosque, as the Ghazi has now done at Caesarea, and lead them again in the Parliament of Islam, and *not* as the Ghazi is doing, alas! *only* in the Parliament of Turkey.

The Ghazi has already realized the ambition of being the George Washington of Turkey, and some people believe him to be cherishing the hope of one day realizing another ambition also, the ambition of being its Napoleon. We would far rather see him as the President of the Muslim Federation of the World; the George Washington of the United States of Islam. Only we prefer that instead of aspiring to become Washington or Napoleon he should rather have the ambition of becoming one day the Abu Bakr or Omar of a more extensive and more varied Commonwealth than theirs in which, with "every modern convenience" as the saying is, the State should be informed with that ancient spirit which is still the most "modern" thing in the world.

Let the Turks ask for the latest fashion in dress in Rue de la Paix; but for the *dernier cri* in faiths they must

come to the "Old House" in Mecca! It is the most modern as well as the most ancient thing, because it is "the nature of Allah's own designing in which He has created Mankind." That is the *deen-i-qayyim*, the right and the standing, everlasting religion of the world "though most people know it not." It is free from the "-isms" and "-isms" of Jews and Christians—and let us add of some of the narrow jurists of Islam itself—like the faith of Abraham himself who was neither a Jew nor a Christian nor an associator of others with God but a true Muslim—the preacher and practiser of Islam or self-sur-render to God—and the believer in the *deen-i-hanef* or innate, natural, inborn, inherent faith of Man before men had "split up their religion and become parties, every sect rejoicing in what they had with them," and reviling the rest of mankind. "Who forsakes the religion of Abraham but he who makes himself a fool" for Muslims, like him, belong to the *ummat-i-wasta*, equi-distant alike from the self-indulgence of those who have taken their Desires for their Deity and follow them, and from the self-imposed asceticism of the anchorites that endeavour to thwart Nature instead of regulating their natural passions and impulses and cannot keep it up. The Muslims are to be the NORM for all mankind, "witnesses" against other nations that depart from this normal state, just as the Prophet (on whom be God's benediction and peace) was an exemplar for them and a "witness" against themselves whenever they departed from it and became "freaks" of self-indulgence or of *ruhbaniyet* or anchoritism. It is towards *this* faith that a Muslim is to "turn his face" or "set his purpose." How we wish we could read with Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his great nation the Thirtieth Chapter of the Holy Quran, significantly entitled, "The Romans," and in their company re-discover in it "the politics of Islam."

In this is explained the common origin of all men inspite of their subsequent separation into races and nations. "And one of His signs is also that He created from dust, then lo! ye are mortals who scatter." In this is also explained man's nature, which is Love and Peace and not Hatred and War: "And He made between you love and compassion; most surely there are signs in this for a people who reflect." Surely Islam or the religion of Universal Peace alone consorts with this Love and Compassion and not international war such as that which was being waged by Romans and Persians against each other which ultimately, and in the ordinary course of *fitrat-i-illah* or, "nature of God's own designing," resulted in their absorption within the Empire of Islam. Difference of language and colour were removed once for all by their divine solvent of all such Devil's differences: "And one of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the diversity of your tongues and colours, most surely there are signs in this for the learned [or perhaps 'ulameen' or the Nations]. "Corruption had appeared on land and sea by reason of that which the hands of man had wrought, that He might make them taste a part of that which they had done, so that they might return." The Dark Ages of the world were now to end and Man was to awake from the sleep of centuries as a giant refreshed: "And one of His signs is your sleeping by night and by day, and your seeking of His grace, most surely there are signs in this for a people who would hear." The flaming onset of Islam carried hope as well as fear with it to the Nations and it was for them to choose whether it should annihilate or should revive them. "And one of His signs is that He shows you the lightning for fear and for hope, and sends down water from the cloud so that He reviveth the earth therewith after its death, most surely there are signs in this for a people who understand." But to return to the conditions of Turkey to-day.

As we have said a final judgment cannot yet be pronounced on the religious attitude of the present rulers of Turkey. But we have no hesitation in saying that their decision with regard to the "abolition" of the Khilafat was un-Islamic and did no good to the Turkish nation either. When first the news of this reached India, the Editor of this Review spoke at great length on the subject at the Jami Masjid of Aligarh, and while making it perfectly clear that it was unsafe to trust everything that was cabled out by a non-Muslim and non-Turkish agency from Turkey, he had not hesitated to characterise the Turkish action reported by Reuter in the strongest terms. With that, for the present, we are not concerned. It is rather his description of the prospect of the future in Turkey that we would recall to-day. He had said:—

"I cannot conceive that the Turks as a nation will take these changes lying down, no matter how strong the President of the Republic may be at the present moment, and it is the fear of a bloody revolution against the present regime which causes me the greatest disquiet. If that breaks out, the Powers of Europe will be sure to intervene on some pretext or other and the fruits of victory so labouriously achieved, and at such terrible sacrifices, may be lost to my Turkish co-religionists. But whether any section of the governing classes of Turkey revolts against these unheard-of changes or not, the Anatolian peasantry, that displays to this day at its best the ethical teachings of the Holy Prophet in its own truly Islamic life, will never forgive those that have wrought these changes when it once awakens to their significance. These good men and true do not for a moment imagine that the great generals and other commanders, much less their great Commander-in-Chief, that had so recently led them and so unexpectedly from defeat to victory against the Greeks and all other Christians that supported them, can possibly think of destroying the Khilafat, and thus wreck and ruin the fine fabric of their thirteen-century old faith. But once they realise this, no matter or later they must do, provided of course the facts are as they are stated to be, I will not give a day's purchase for the entire Republican Government. The Turk is very slow to anger, but when he is once roused, the punishment that he metes out to the offenders is condign. May Allah spare our Turkish brethren all this and lead them into the right path—the path of those on whom is His blessing, and not the path of those with whom He is wroth, nor of those that have gone astray."

In March last when this speech was made it was clear that a sort of military dictatorship existed in Turkey, and newspapers and deputies were alike gagged. Even then we felt sure that an "Opposition" existed, and we think Rauf Bey, the heroic Captain of the *Hamidiyya* of the Balkan War fame acted very prudently in not trying conclusions with the "Government." It is the defection of the generals, like Kazim Qara Bakr Pasha and Ali Fuad Pasha, from the so-called "Popular" Party that has made the removal of the gag possible. Bloodshed has so far been avoided, and we pray that our Turkish brethren, who, we fear sometimes rashly use in their party feuds also the weapons of war that should be reserved for the enemy in the battle-field will avoid all resort to force.

We believe the "Opposition" will yet grow in strength and although we dread the possibilities of all party splits in Turkey, we think the emergence of the new Party will check the extravagances of the "Popular" Party in religion, and will help rather than retard the real progress of Turkey.

It is true that many a member of the Committee of Union and Progress on whom the faith of Islam sat very lightly calls the present ruler, of Turkey *deen-siz* or *be-deen* (irreligious), and that, unless he has changed a good deal since 1913, or even since 1923, it would not be with a humour of its own for a leader of the new party like Adnan Bey to call any other Turk *deen-siz*. But Rauf Bey is, we are glad to read, accused of being a *Khilafatji* or "Khilafatist" and Kazim Qara Bakr Pasha is well-known to be a good Muslim. That is why we welcome the new "Opposition", and trust, not that it will defeat the "Government," but that it will before long leaven the whole lump of the Turkish Assembly and the Turkish nation.

From private advices received by us we are satisfied that there is no danger of Republicanism being defeated by the old Osmanli despotism for which there is no room in the world to-day and for which there was *never* any room in Islam, (This we say without prejudice to the character and capacity of Abdul Majeed Effendi who made admirable Khalifa of Islam). Rauf Bey, even if he may talk for an hour without once mentioning the Republic is a good republican, and is we feel sure no less a lover of Liberty and of Democracy than Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha or Ghazi Ismet Pasha themselves. It is another matter altogether that he may be, as we ourselves are, lovers of Islamic Theocracy, which is the Government *not* of a priest or a *padishah*, but the Government of God himself. Let us pray that He may persuade all Turkish parties to unite in restoring to Turkey and to the entire Muslim world the Kingdom of God.

Gharib Shah Mosque.

IT appears that in accordance with the Delhi New Capital Railway Works Scheme, the G. I. P. Railway is constructing an additional station, probably a Ceremonial Reception Platform, near Paharganj. Opposite to the station or the platform and between it and some railway lines is an old mosque known after Gharib Shah used to this day for offering prayers by the Mussalmans of Paharganj. When it became known that the Government wanted to demolish a portion if not the whole of it, Muslim feeling was greatly excited, and on the 18th of January a public meeting was held after the Friday Service near the Gharib Shah Mosque under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Muhammadiyah of Paharganj to protest against this projected sacrilege. The resolution passed at this meeting quite clearly stated that according to Islamic law no part of a mosque could be sold or exchanged nor demolished with the object of using the site for any other purpose. The meeting warned the Government that "if any portion whatsoever of this mosque is demolished or its passage is blocked to the Muslims for prayers it would be dangerous, and Government would be held responsible for the consequences." On the 21st January in reply to a letter of the 16th, the then Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Young, wrote to say that he would give an interview to the President of the Anjuman and also to any of the conveners of, or speakers at the public meeting held by the Anjuman on the 18th if they would also care to attend. He intimated that "it is evident both from your letter and from the reports of the speeches at the meeting that the arrangements for the preservation and future maintenance of this mosque are not known to the public." It seems that at this interview the Mussalmans explained that what the Deputy Commissioner called "arrangements for the preservation and future maintenance of this mosque" were not what they purported to be, for it has been decided to demolish a *Hujra* or room of the mosque and other portions also.

On the 17th of February another letter was addressed to the Deputy Commissioner reminding him that in the course of the interview on the 21st January every possible or doubtful point of view has been explained to him, and that apparently he had been satisfied and promised to take up the matter with the railway authorities. Mussalmans had been a prey to a great disquiet and intransigency on account of the uncertainty about the fate of the mosque, and having heard nothing from the Deputy Commissioner, they informed him that delay in the announcement of a favourable decision was causing more and more anxiety. They therefore, asked for the early issue of orders declaring that there would be no interference of any sort with the mosque and that it would remain safe and intact. On the 5th of March the Deputy Commissioner replied to this letter and fixed the 8th for an interview in which he promised to explain the result of further negotiations with the railway authorities. It seemed that after this interview the Deputy Commissioner went to inspect the Gharib Shah Mosque on the 12th March.

Just at this time a question was asked by Haji Wajihuddin M.L.A., in the Assembly on the subject of this mosque. In reply to it Sir Malcolm Hailey said: "It is not true that any portion of the platform of the Gharib Shah Mosque is to be cut off and converted into a railway platform. The mosque building and platform will not be touched. It may be necessary at some future time to take up a portion of the courtyard. The only action immediately contemplated is the removal of the out-house to the S. W. of the mosque." This alteration, as has been repeatedly explained to local persons interested "is absolutely indispensable for the construction of the new railway station." Here we see the inveterate habit of these alien officials to look at things from no other point of view but that of their own convenience, even if the religious obligations of Indian communities are involved. There is no official in India who can pretend to be ignorant of the religious requirements of the Mussalmans in connection with their mosques since the self-same argument, "absolute indispensability," had resulted in 1913

in the tragedy connected with the Cawnpore Mosque. There, as every one knows, a portion of the mosque in which was situated the place where ablutions are made, including the drain for carrying off the water used in making the ablutions, was demolished in order to make room for a colonnade or arcade along the street running below. This portion was actually demolished, but had to be restored, and even now the Mussalmans demand that the passage still left below under the restored Wazoo-khana should be closed to the general public and preserved for the exclusive use of Mussalmans visiting the mosque for prayers, since the ground had been dedicated to God for purposes of the mosque and cannot lawfully be used for any other purpose. Sir Malcolm Hailey has less excuse than others for misunderstanding a Mussalman's religious obligations in this matter, for when he was Chief Commissioner of Delhi we brought to his notice the case of more than one mosque, and saved them from demolition, and in one case, namely the mosque of Hazrat Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi which had been demolished, as Sir Malcolm Hailey assured us himself, without his permission or knowledge, had to be rebuilt at Government expense.

But it seems during the interval between our suspending the publication of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* and their re-appearance, some obscure mosques have been demolished in clearing the site for the new Capital. In answer to another question of Haji Wajihuddin on the 14th March Sir Malcolm Hailey said that "a sum of Rs. 30,547 is lying in deposit with the District Judge, Delhi, as compensation awarded ten years ago for mosques in the course of the Land Acquisition proceedings for the new Capital. This sum covers 17 Mosques situated in 8 small villages." In these days of financial stringency a sum so large as Rs. 30,547 would tempt anybody, and yet for ten whole years it has remained "unclaimed property" lying with the District Judge. Not one poor villager out of these 8 villages has come forward to claim compensation for a single mosque acquired by Government. What more evidence could Sir Malcolm Hailey require in support of the well known fact that the property in a mosque is that of Allah alone, and no Mussalman can claim or receive compensation for Allah's property forcibly acquired by some of His creatures?

Things dragged on like this, and at last a telegram was addressed to the Viceroy on the 9th May by the Paharganj Muslim Anjuman. No notice seems to have been taken of this, and hardly any better fate was in store for the representation, addressed by the Anjuman to the Chief Commissioner. The Mussalmans concluded this representation by telling that official: "Respected Sir! We had very plainly and honestly told the Deputy Commissioner that the Government was, no doubt, authorised to do just as they pleased, but that this kind of action would be on her part an evident indifference and disrespect to our religion which the Mussalmans could hardly tolerate." We wish we could quote from this pathetic document at greater length to show how these believers in "the kind and just policy of Great Britain" had done everything that was possible to bring the Government to a more reasonable frame of mind. So far not a word had been set down in writing as to the intentions of Governments and every written communication to the officials had resulted in an interview where no doubt an attempt was made to persuade the Mussalmans to accept a settlement contrary to their religious law. Having tired of getting a favourable decision in writing, Mussalmans now begged at last for an interview with the Government. But this request was also "turned down," and the only reply given by the Chief Commissioner was that he had "nothing to add to what the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, already appears to have communicated."

But among the papers of the Anjuman we find a copy of the "Minutes of Discussion" on the Charib Shah Mosque case on the 6th June 1924. They run thus:-

"Present:-

Mr. E. R. Abbot, C.I.E., Chief Commissioner, Delhi.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons, I.C.S., Financial Commissioner, Railways

Mr. F. A. Hadow, C.V.O., Member, Railway Board.

Mr. F. R. Morgan, Executive Engineer, Delhi (New Capital Railway Works Scheme)

"The following decision was reached

"It is necessary to pull down the out-house on the western side of the mosque at once in order to construct lines 2 and 3 on the plan, a copy of which will be supplied to Mr. Abbot by Mr. Morgan, and the remodelling of the out-houses involves the demolition of the out-houses on the east of the mosque. The Railway Board will undertake the demolition and reconstruction of the out-houses as indicated in red on the plan, at the expense of the Railway.

"They will also provide a tap close to the position of the existing well.

"The Railway Board have no intention at present of construction [sic] line 4 or of taking over any part of the praying platform; and in no event will they make any alteration in the praying platform without consultation with the Mohammedan community."

This is the net result of half a year's negotiations. There is nothing to indicate that any of these members present have even understood that no part of the ground dedicated to God in connection with a mosque can be utilised, according to Islamic law, for any other purpose. From the very first day the officials had decided to take the *Hujra* of the mosque in the south-western corner, and they adhere to his decision, all the protests of Mussalmans based on Islamic law, and all their prayers notwithstanding. The *Hujra* is "absolutely indispensable" to Government, and it does not matter in the least that it had already been dedicated to God.

But although this decision makes no attempt to satisfy the Mussalmans, an attempt to confuse issues has not been spared. The *Hujra*, which is part of a mosque although congregational prayer is not usually offered there, is referred to as an "out-house" as if it had no connection with the mosque itself, and could be taken away and built elsewhere. A novel terminology is used when it is said that there is no present intention of taking over any part of the "praying platform," and that in no event will any alteration be made in the "praying platform" without consultation with the Mohammedan community. Now Mussalmans know nothing of a "praying platform." Every part of a mosque is sacred, and there is no less sanctity in the "courtyard" or uncovered portion of a mosque than in the portion over which there is a roof. It is only the climatic conditions of India that necessitate the leaving of a large part of a mosque unroofed. In colder countries, or where rainfall is heavy, as in Bombay, the greater portion of a mosque is always covered with a roof. This distinction between the "praying platform" and the "courtyard" might have been of some use if it had been declared that the "praying platform" would in no event be touched. But the officials responsible for the above decision do not seem to be the kind of people that would leave no loophole for escape. Alteration in the "praying platform" is clearly foreshadowed, but we are assured that it will in no event be made "without consultation with the Mohammedan community." This reminds us of the Arab proverb: "Always consult your wife, but do what you think best."

All these distinctions, whether with a difference or without, are of no significance when it is understood that no part of a land dedicated to God for any purpose connected with a mosque can be sold, exchanged, given away or disposed of in any other manner for any other purpose. That settles the question so far as the

Mussalmans are concerned, and no Mussalman can tolerate any interference with property dedicated to God. We make this as clear as we can because *Hujras* have already been built at Government expense on Government land to the south of the mosque; but Mussalman have not taken them up in exchange for their own threatened *Hujras* to the west and to the east, and no Mussalman can ever exchange them for the newly built *Hujras*.

We had heard something about the Gharib Shah Mosque case sometime ago, but had hoped that the authorities would soon relent and not persist in flouting Islamic law and Muslim opinion. But three weeks ago we were informed that the demolition of the *Hujra* was imminent, and we were pressed to take up the matter. A meeting was advertised for the 14th November to be held at this mosque, which was to be addressed by a member of prominent *Ulama* of Delhi and others. But this was postponed owing to Bi-Amma's death just a day previously. On the first December we were approached again by the people of Paharganj and all the papers of the case were examined. Since the plan of the mosque and the projected railway lines was not a certified copy of the official plan, which had been refused, but of which an inspection alone was permitted, we communicated with the Deputy Commissioner, and not only saw the official plan at the Deputy Commissioner's residence, but also verified the record of the case in our possession. There is no dispute as to facts. The Deputy Commissioner, who is a courteous gentleman, acknowledged at the end of the interview that there was nothing obscure about the Muslim case, but added that there was *fait accompli* in the shape of the Ceremonial Reception Platform, and he did not know what could be done, in answer to this he was informed that there was not one *fait accompli*, but two such and that the earlier *fait accompli*, and the one more entitled to respect was not the Ceremonial Reception Platform raised by Government, but the mosque raised to God.

We had nothing to ask him, for the era of petitions is past. We have nothing even to preach to the Mussalmans. They know their duty clearly enough. While they must abstain most scrupulously from causing the least injury to another, they must be prepared, as we are ourselves, to receive the first pick or shovel on their own body if they wish to protect the House of their God. The Deputy Commissioner was surprised that high officials such as those who have given their decision could have been ignorant of it, if there had been any religious objection to the exchange of the site of the existing *Hujras* as well. Such an objection, he was assured, had always existed. We know officials better. They are so used to having their will enforced in spite of every objection on the part of the people, religious or otherwise, that such an obstacle as a temple or a tomb or a mausoleum count for nothing to them. Evidently some one ignored the existence of this mosque, or took it for granted that like the seventeen others for which compensation lies unclaimed in the office of the District Judge, it could be removed from the way. But now that he finds his mistake, it is too late. The Ceremonial Reception Platform has already been built, and there is, in addition to it, the Moloch of Prestige to propitiate. It is the mosque that must give way to Moloch, and not *vice versa*. The Deputy Commissioner was given the names of some very prominent and trusted loyalists who knew Muslim Law, and could be asked if they were prepared to give a *fatwa* against that already obtained by the Paharganj people. They, at any rate, were enemies of the Non-Co-operation movement and of Non-Co-operators. But since such a *fatwa* could not possibly be secured, the Deputy Commissioner was asked to consider the significance of the mosque with its *Hujras* and well remaining where it was. Every august visitor who was received with pomp and ceremony on entering the Capital of India could be shown this mosque that is without any pretensions to beauty standing opposite to the elegant Railway Station as a symbol of British toleration and British respect for the conscience and creed of others. That he was told, would be a far better memorial of a righteous rule than the symmetry of a road at Cawnpore or of a Railway Station or line at Delhi. The only question that remains to be decided is whether the Government cares to retain such a memorial.



'Anarchy in Bengal' ---at St. Andrew's Dinner
BY MR. GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please"

As You Like It.

As H.E. Lytton, Gubernator of Bengal, says, anarchy, which like the cloud first reported to prophet Elijah as rising out of the sea no bigger than a man's hand grew until the heaven became black with cloud and wind, has spread until it has darkened whole political heaven, including highest heaven where Caledonian Society met for annual "feast of reason and flow of soul" called St. Andrew's Day Dinner. For the latest reporter, that of the Chowringhee newspaper which tells us its 'certified sales exceed those of any five other daily papers in India,' and may be trusted in its reporting at least as much as the reporter of the days of Elijah, publishes an account of this feast of Belshazzar, with no unmistakable writing on the wall, under the caption, "ANARCHY IN BENGAL!" That little cloud may or may not have darkened anything else, but it has certainly darkened counsel in Caledonian Society.

Scotch hospitality rather different from that of a "certain king" who "sent forth his servants to call them that were hidden to the wedding and they would not come," and who subsequently commanded these servants to go into the highways and "as many as ye shall find bid to the marriage." This is not the way in which a Scotch banquet is "furnished with guests." For many are not called and few are chosen. But since MR. GUP had heard that one of the toasts honoured at this feast is 'The Land We Live In' also— which really means "The Land We Live On"—he managed to go in unbidden, and although a Scotchman could not have been expected to give him much to eat and a teetotaler like MR. GUP could not have accepted anything offered at a Scotch feast to drink, he enjoyed only the speeches delivered, and duly sends his report.

As George Morf-r-gan said, this was the ne nicht o' the hale year that Scotsmen can say what they like about themselves and their country, wi'oot any fear o' contradiction, though, o' course, they can say what they like against India and Indians the hale year through, wi'oot any fear o' contradiction, from Scot or Sassenach. And nae lack o' sich talk when "an unmistakable Scottish atmosphere prevailed" wi' Treacle Peerie an' Nettle Beer an' "the Cream o' the Hielans" an' that guid drink, porter, ne'er sae guid as when ye drank mair nor "three dozen." George Morf-r-r-gan tell't us Kirkcaddy's the toon whaur the Deil's buried; but on sich a nicht Calcootta's the toon whaur the Deil's resurrected wi' blessings o' the "Satanic Government" wha's head's the principal guest. "Scots wha hae" can curse the Indians "wha hae not" tae thir hair-rt's cantant.

Not tae slay the Sassenach King's English any fairrther, and to write plain and simple southrose English, Mr. William C. Currie the President, proposed mixed toast of loyalty and disloyalty, combining 'His Excellency the Viceroy' with the "Land We Live In," a combination of East and West—though quoting Kipling he suggested that "never the twin shall meet"—a sort of Indian Currie taken with Reading biscuits. He said that "in the British

Government's choice of His Excellency Lord Reading India has been fortunate and to him India owes a debt of gratitude." This is indeed surprising, for while His Excellency amasses a fortune, it is India that is to be considered fortunate, and while it pays in hard cash to the tune of Rs. 25,000 a month and much found, she still owes His Excellency a debt! And not only a debt of gratitude but also one of admiration for his high sense of duty in accepting so onerous a burden to which many a younger man would have said no, thanks. Twenty five thousand rupees a month is no doubt an "onerous burden", but there was one young man, a very young man indeed—called George Nathaniel Curzon, who did not say "no thanks even after completing his quinquennium, but asked for and accepted" more of this burden until driven away by the fear of the explosion of the revolver under the Viceregal pillow called the Commander-in-Chief.

After this attempt at the graceful and the conventional, Mr. Currie went on adding more and more Currie powder to his speech. Began by asking the commercial community to be "prepared to take an increasing interest," at hearing which Clive Street began to look lively and the Bank rate went up to 17 per cent until he explained that the increasing interest he wanted the commercial magnates to take was 'only in the politics of the country!' "It would be disastrous," said Mr. Currie, "if politics were to obtain a strangle-hold on trade" and therefore wanted English "Trade" to retain the strangle-hold which it had obtained on India's politics. What could one expect from him but criticism of decision of Legislature to take over the management of Indian Railways. Could he make Railway management 'accountable to the Legislature for every trifling detail of administration'—especially that most 'trifling detail,' a few score crores of Indian money which Railways control? Referring to a Government department of a sister Province which competing with Pears soap, advertised its own manufacture, he said to Government "for goodness sake stick to your own job of governing, and don't interfere in trade again." Poor Currie, so forgetful of Nemesis. Was not a soap manufacturing Government's competition with him the karma of a trading Company Bahadur which did not stick to its own job of trading, and started to meddle in other people's job of governing? However, one who has experience of waggon shortage during the War could sympathise with him when he imagined the ramp in days to come with Government owning Railways. "Never a waggon will the ordinary trader see till Government requirements are satisfied, it would not be in accord with human nature."

Curried criticism of Workman's Compensation Act, Trades Union Act, and Trades Disputes Act was characteristic. The first was "in theory extremely sound, but in practice extremely troublesome," being in fact, like so many things, such for instance as the ordinary law of the land or even the Reformed Councils. The inclusion of politics as a legal object of a Trade Union was good for England, but bad for India, where "that much misused political word, Democracy, is a hundred years off—" and would be a good one thousand years off if Messrs. Currie and Rice and rest of this Anglo-Indian Menu had their way. If "picketing is a curse at Home," and if "it would be worse here, for there is no such thing as peaceful or systematic persuasion except at the end of a lathi," then should not reform, like charity, begin at Home, and should not peaceful persuasion through fistbuffs

be prevented. An "Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Black-Legs" just the thing for Tories with bloated majority to propose. After this who could say that the Trades Disputes Bill was not "premature" as premature, indeed, as self-government or even the courts of law, unless, of course, when they sentence a Gandhi like a common felon to six years' imprisonment.

Currie thinks that there is far too much labour legislation these days, and that it is "a grievous mistake to follow slavishly the lines of Western labour legislation." No, if a country that professes to hate everything that is slavish, must "follow slavishly" any Western lines, they must be Western Railway lines and those of similar concessions to Capital.

Capital idea that of beseeching Capital to come to India which must "open its door wide" to it, particularly because in India the banking habit "is in its infancy" and "wealth" which, of course, in India means poverty— "is hoarded in the form of the precious metals."

Anticipating the Governor himself, and making encroachments on his Copy right, Currie thought of Deshbandu Das as the fallen angel of a ruined paradise. "What a chance he lost in refusing a portfolio in the administration and working loyally with Government!" Does not Chitranjan's mouth water at the thought of that portfolio which at last Fazl-ul Haq picked up and strutted about with for a brief space under his arm? Currie was almost in tears—as if his cook had put in too much powder in his currie—at the thought of the "alteration in the attitude of the British public" which Non-Co operation had made.

The word "alteration," while it made him detest any change in the date 1929 fixed by an inexorable fate for revision of the Reforms, suggested an amendment in the Preamble of the Government of India Act. To "co-operation received" and the sense of responsibility shown, which must precede any alteration in the Reforms, he would add as *sine quo non* the "loyalty displayed." If it is "by loyalty principally that advancement should be judged," then it is the turn of the loyal Indian soldier to advance now and claim the Indianisation of the Commissioned ranks. If a Shali and a Sharma and a Chatterji all "Babus" or "Munshis" can sit in the Executive Council as colleagues of the Viceroy, then it is surely the turn of the Punjabi soldier who constitutes the sword arm of India to unseat the British Commander-in-Chief from his chair in the Council Chamber! When they do that, it will be time for Justice Rankin to boast that "there seemed to be no line in life in which the Britishers and the Indians seem to appreciate and get on with each other more readily, quickly and thoroughly than in the Indian army." History, as written even by the Anglo-Indian, records that at siege of Arcot, Clive's Indian soldiers gave all the rice to their British comrades, and satisfied their own hunger with the congee. And that seems to have become the Permanent Settlement in the Army—rice for the British troops and congee for their Indian comrades-in-arm. If by loyalty principally should advancement be judged, then it would be a Ram Singh or a Gul Mohamed or a Gurudit Singh that would next year be responding to the toast of the "Imperial Forces" proposed by Justice Rankin and not Thompson, or Johnson, or Robertson.

It does one's heart good to hear that Indian spies do not altogether miss Anglo-Indian Aunt Sallies, for Mr. Currie had preserved for this occasion as the *piece de resistance* his boast in reply to a passage from the "speech of an extremist at Cocanada," made nearly a year ago. One brother had indulged in "contingent's sedition" by promising to turn Europeans out of India bag and baggage if they did not show a change of heart and continued to deny to the Indians their birthright of Freedom. The other brother had then intervened with his objection about the removal of the baggage for that certainly was Indian's property, unless it was the carpet bags with which so many of these commercial travellers came who returned as Indian "Nabobs." Mr. Currie now retorted: "Some how I don't think that will happen in his life-time, and certainly never so far as Calcutta is concerned." He even wondered "if these loud-voiced extremist agitators have ever thought of where they themselves would be within a year of the British leaving India," for he predicted "India would then no longer be a nation, but a chaotic conglomeration of races and creeds, each striving for supremacy." Well, no prophet can be judged when he makes a prophecy. He can be judged only when that which he says will never happen comes to pass, or that which he predicts will soon come to pass, does not happen within the time fixed in the prophecy. How many things that have happened already could have been served as Curried prophecies at a St. Andrew's Banquet twenty years earlier. India is marching forward with tifty league boots on and nobody knows how surely Nemesis is at last overtaking it than the Bureaucracy itself now at bay—unless it be the plutocracy of that Scottish city—Calcutta. As for the "loud-voiced extremist agitators," wheresoever else they may be within a year of the British leaving India, they would certainly not be in a British Indian jail experiencing greater rigours than a common British felon. And, thank God, we shall all be trying for "supremacy" and not vying with each in sycophancy.

Of course, there was none to respond to the toast of the Land Scotchmen lived in, though one can imagine Sir Abdur Rahim giving a tit-for-tat ten years ago before he was tamed. As for the Viceroy, he was far beyond the reach of any Scotsman. In fact, some have suggested that wide distance must always separate the Hebrew from the Scot. It is said that the problem which had been a riddle to the ancients, the problem of perpetual motion, was solved when a Hebrew borrowed a shilling from a Scotchman, and the latter started chasing him all over the world for the recovery of his loan.

Meeting with no response either from the Land or from its Lord, Caledonians turned to Lytton, Provincial Governor. They no doubt believed that a local Governor in hand was worth two Governors-General shooting "ferocious panthers" in the Gur bush—as if panthers, specially those placed before Viceroys to test their prowess and skill in shooting, were as a rule, tame, domesticated beasts that fawned and purred like household cats. So Tassie, whose name rhymed well with lassie, gave the toast of the guest. Although he sympathised with Lytton for not being a Scotchman, he also sympathised with him for having come out to Bengal to do constructive work and remaining only to protect Bengal from her destructive politicians. Now, a Scotchman should not by rights sympathise with any one for "coming out." He can only envy him. As George Murrirgan said later, the Scotch were Prime Movers, and were here, there and every-where, particularly where a sixpence could be earned. Was it not Boswell who first met his hero, Dr. Johnson, in the shop of a book-seller that introduced him to the Doctor as a gentleman who came from Scotland and did he not apologise for the accident of his birth by saying that he could not help coming from Scotland, knowing well the antipathy of the Doctor to the Scotch. Johnson's comment on this apology is one which the world will not willingly let die. "No," said the Doctor, "none of his countrymen could help coming from Scotland."

Tassie tried his hand at flattering the English Governor by referring to hill-man, Lytton's habit of walking long distances at Darjeeling and wearing out about one A. D. C. a month in his walks. We have all heard of walks of life but his was a walk of death. Knowledge of this Tassie did not obtain with the Indian formula banteringly referred to by His Excellency in his speech to the effect that "there is a rumour et., etc." He was informed "at about 8 p. m., in the bar of the Gymkhana Club at Darjeeling a place and time where one gets the most reliable information." Well, if the time had been a little later, and the place the same, Tassie would have received even more reliable information, but perhaps he could have been in no position to retain it for future use, even if he had been able to retain anything at all in that place and at that time.

For Tassie, as I have said, the only guest on that night of intense nationalism was the Governor whom he tried to flatter, but he had to spare some words for other guests as well. He could ignore Sir Abdur Rahim, the Executive Councillor, but some cognisance had to be taken of a Maharaja, who happened to be the Maharaja Nuddea. To him Tassie confided that "rampant nationalism" was in evidence that evening. "We only do it one day in the year," said Tassie, "and the rest of the time we mind our own business." "Others," he added, "unfortunately reverse the procedure." Oh Tassie! how modest you are. It is true you have nationalism rampant only on one night in the year, but surely the rest of the time you mind everybody's business. That is why your business is always increasing, and that is why others can now have no business but nationalism. Once nationalism succeeds you will have to mind your own business, and others will mind their own.

After referring to the Border ancestry of the Chief Justice who "has come out" to protect the simple, innocent Scot merchants from the wiles of the astute Bengali and Marwari, and to the Scot ancestry of the C. O. C., General Thomson, and specially including Mukerji the Knighted Engineer in the toast, Tassie came to Tegart to whom it seemed that every speaker that night was bound to refer. Tegart is an Irishman and from that H. E. Lytton would draw the conclusion that he was perhaps a Sinn Feiner, though there is another type of Irishman, also that India knows only too well, namely, O'Dwyer. Tassie was frank and said he always thought an Irishman specially suited to be a policeman. "Being by instinct 'agin the Government," he knows exactly what people who want to make trouble feel like and is able to forestall their action." Quite right Tassie! What a long-headed Scotchman you really are!! Always set a thief to watch a thief!!!

If His Excellency had not replied, and Tegart not remained silent like a Scotchman, with too much of the "Mountain Dew" inside and afraid of letting any of it go, one would have thought Tegart was the principal guest and not the Governor. Every speaker referred to him, and even the Scotchman who proposed the 'Land o' Cakes' referred to "The Crookit Baubee," though it was rather unkind to call the policeman "Deformed!"

No doubt a Governor's life is, as H. E. Lytton confessed, "such an unromantic routine, and the daily life of professional duties so devoid of excitement" that he is "drawn to the field of sport for that additional zest which is caused by the element of uncertainty." It would have been different, indeed, if unlike the King who can do no wrong, and is above law, the King's representative lived under the Ordinances and Regulations for which he obtains and readily receives the Governor-General's sanction. Life would have been more romantic and less of a routine if a Lytton could have had to rise from his gubernatorial bed before dawn one morning in order to have his morning tub and *Chhota Hazri* on a bathing platform and off the *congee* of the Alipore Jail. The daily round of professional duties would not have been so devoid of excitement if the "end of a perfect day" had been reached in a Lal Bazar lock-up.

He might have remained perfectly inert like his superior at Simla, the Great Ornamental, whose despatch box, as Sir Ali Baba said, is to him a despatch box, and it is something more: it contains cigarettes! He could have idly blown rings from silk-cut or straight-cut, Turkish; Egyptian or Virginian, or enjoyed that dusky beauty, a cheroot, whether Havana, Manila, "Trichy" or Burma, or smoked in the pipe of peace Hankey's mixture or Craven, or that sterner stuff called shag, with the certainty that life would not begin to pall upon him, because any puff of his might be the last—at least for some years to come, which might extend to twenty, with hard labour, unless, of course, he bribed the warders and obtained what he wanted even inside his cell in a Central Jail through the mighty influence of *Tigram*!

But alas, a Governor is beyond the pale alike of Regulation III, and Ordinance I. What is worse, in spite of Deshbandhu Das's alarming admission or boast or simple conjecture, whatever it may be, that makes every European's flesh creep—in speech and on paper—no believer in the Cult of the Bomb is enterprising enough to make an attempt on a gubernatorial life in Bengal as some had done a dozen years ago at Delhi when they all but killed a Viceroy. So Lytton is sick with envy of his own Police Commissioner "whose duties are performed under very different circumstances, and who for the last two years has even carried his life in his hands"—though it is just as safe there as if it had been placed in safe deposit in the vault of the Imperial Bank of India. The only uncertainty that even poor Tegart is left to enjoy is that of speculating who may be the individual whom the next maniac with a revolver will mistake for him.

Having declared how much Tegart was misjudged, with what cool courage he performed his duties and his own inability to express adequately his gratitude and admiration, His Excellency announced at that festive board that he felt it an honour to be in Police Commissioner Tegart's company and to be able to number him among his friends. Some of the audience almost expected that an exchange of places between Governor and Policeman would follow, but others doubted whether the Governor on retirement would even propose the policeman for membership of his own aristocratic club! Nevertheless so friendly had he grown with all in that assembly and so full of superlatives for others and of self-depreciation that he announced he was there "among friends," and that though he was only a "poor Englishman," he was prepared to maintain "that the honour of opening the season in the social-political world of Calcutta was not likely ever to be wrested from this annual function so long as the British connection with India was maintained."

Whether it was a touch of sympathy that had made the whole world kin, or merely the effect of some mellow Scotch, it is certain that His Excellency's opening statement made allowances even for the folly of the Swarajists. Deshbandhu who is a grand-father was not after all much more foolish than His Excellency at the mature age of eight. Those interested in this self-depreciatory parallel may read the parable of the parts of the mechanism of a watch, and particularly the fascinating little wheels to which, of course, the Ministers in the constitution were likened. It is indeed a sad story of the pieces of the poor watch with which His Excellency, then in knickers, had played together with a similarly knickered friend, and made many things with them that were not watches. By his carelessness he had deeply shocked the watch-maker who had promised to make His Excellency his apprentice. The apprenticeship abruptly ended, and His Excellency lost both the watch and the watch-maker friend. A sad story, indeed, of "the premature termination of a promising career." But, as His Excellency suggests, "it is not without its moral." Instead of His Excellency coming out to do constructive work as a watch maker in the firm of Cooke and Kelvey or Marcks at Rs. 300 a month, with a bedroom in a chummary, His Excellency gets some Rs. 15,000 a month and has two or three palaces to live in. Perhaps Deshbandhu Das, too, who in playing with fascinating little ministerial wheels took them out of the mechanism of the Constitution and failed to replace them in his own person, will yet live to replace His Excellency, or even become the head of the Indian Government. Q.E.F., as Euclid would say.

The Governor need not have repeated his thread-bare arguments "among those who are not likely to question the necessity for

exceptional measures," so long as they do not deprive them of their own liberty and their opportunities for exploitation. But he wanted to speak unto the multitude in parables that it might be fulfilled that he would utter things which had been kept secret from the foundation of the world. But alas, he forgot what the Great Master had said to his servants, who asked whether he did not wish that they should go and gather up the tares which his enemy had sown among the wheat. "Nay," said he, "lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them." It is a sorry fashion to honour the Master's Commands more in words than in works, more in the breach than in the observance, on ground that such principles cannot be applied to administrative practice. But it was a practical statesman, and not a preacher or a poet, who fifteen years ago wrote from Whitehall to the occupant of the Government House at Calcutta that he must take care that in gathering up the tares he does not root up the wheat also with them.

While His Excellency is still anxious to teach by parables, let him learn also *from* parables. For instance, from the parable of a certain householder which planted a vineyard and let it out to husbandmen, and when the time of the fruit drew near the husbandmen took the servants he had sent to them to receive the fruits of it, beat one and killed another and stoned another. They caught even his son, saying this is the heir, come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they cast him out of the vineyard and slew him. The question is, when the Lord of the Vineyard cometh what will He do unto these husbandmen, that kill the son of the soil and the heir and seize on his inheritance? Will He not miserably destroy these wicked men and will He not let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen which shall render him the fruits in their season? Let His Excellency read, mark and inwardly digest the words of the Master: the Kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given unto a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.

His Excellency like so many others in higher positions than even he, prided himself on the precipitancy with which the "Lee Loot" was planned and furthered by a report "completed in record time", and he hopes that the Commission's example "will be followed by the Government and another record established in the promptness with which its recommendations are acted upon." O Lytton, is there anything to be proud of in this precipitancy which is characteristic of "the herd that ran violently down a steep place into the sea" and were choked in the sea? Speed here and delay in providing oil for the lamps like the foolish virgins is not wisdom. "And while they went to buy (the oil) the bridegroom came, and they that were ready went with him to the marriage and the door was shut. Afterward came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, 'Verily I say unto you I know you not.'" "Too Late" is, alas, the legend writ large on many a door!

But His Excellency seems destined not to learn even from such simple parables. He thinks the martyr whose blood is the seed of the Church suffers nothing because his Church gains by his suffering. He sees no difference between saying without any qualifications—"we have no place for the bomb and the revolver in the nationalist movement," we will accept no help from those who use them," and saying "we will support any Government however constituted in suppressing them." He was right, of course, when he said "Gentlemen, the man who yields to intimidation surrenders something more precious than his life," and yet he wants a whole political party, if not a province or a whole nation, to yield to his own intimidation. Forgetting the self-depreciation of the opening sentences of his speech, he showed signs of megalomania when he said:—

"I came to India in the hope that I might render some small service to the land of my birth. I did not know when I came that it would be my lot to give it the most precious gift which any country can possess, namely freedom for its citizen living within the law to speak and act in conformity with their conscience. I did not know that during my term of office Bengal would be deprived of this freedom, and that it would be my privilege to restore it. But such has been the task which has come to me unsought I do not shrink from it. And if I accomplish nothing else, I shall be ~~satisfied~~ satisfied if I have been able to guarantee to every law-abiding citizen of Bengal, safety in the discharge of his duty and freedom from fear of violence in the pursuit of his lawful business."

MR. GUP'S advice to the Governor is that he better confine his ambitions to the rendering of the "small services" with which he came out to India. He certainly does not seem to be the man to restore freedom to the people of Bengal. What he has done is to deprive them of the little freedom that they had. He has, indeed, proved the truth of the prophecy "For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance, but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath." So Calcutta and Bengal jute for the Scots and the Alipore jail for the Bengalis. Long live Lytton and the Cult of Cant.

Party Split in Turkey.

Ismet's Cabinet and the "Opposition."

[From the "Times" Correspondent.]

Constantinople, Nov. 6.

THE President of the Republic and many foreign diplomatists were present when the Grand National Assembly resumed its discussion of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Exchange. The debate was again adjourned at 9 o'clock, but in the upshot the Government succeeded in making the debate a question of confidence in the Cabinet, and it is already regarded as certain that when the final vote is taken to-morrow or Saturday, General Ismet Pasha will obtain a large majority. The proceedings were, however, interesting as affording the first serious indication in the Assembly of the strength of the new Opposition.

At the beginning of the sitting a letter was read from General Kiazim Karabekir Pasha, asking why he was forbidden to take part in these debates, seeing that he had resigned his inspectorship a week ago and had already sat and voted in the Assembly. General Ismet Pasha, Minister of Defence, replied that as Kiazim Karabekir Pasha had not handed over his duties to his successor *sur place* he was still unable to sit. His friends proposed to refer the question to the Constitutional Committee, but the Government successfully rejected this, though 40 members of the Opposition voted in favour of such reference and 30 Deputies abstained.

General Ismet Pasha then announced that the interpellations addressed to the Minister of Reconstruction and Exchange involved the responsibility of the whole Cabinet. He was prepared to answer all questions addressed to himself and was anxious to hear all criticisms levelled at the various Departments of the Government. The rest of the debate was still mainly concerned with the failure of the Ministry of Reconstruction. The tone of the speeches was often acrimonious, but criticism was ineffective in face of the Government's excuses that it was unfair to expect the Ministry to accomplish impossible, and that it had done its best with totally insufficient means. The proposal to vote a credit of £10,000,000 (£1,190,000) for the Turkish immigrants from Greece was referred to the Finance Committee.



Resignation of Generals.

[From the "Morning Post" Correspondent.]

Constantinople, Nov. 6.

AN interesting development has occurred in the political world at Angora. Though it is at present differently interpreted and different expectations are based on it, the facts are as follows. Under a clause of the Constitution, military officers could become Deputies, but only on condition of not taking part in the debates of the Assembly as long as they held a command. A number of the most important officers, including Generals, who had taken prominent parts in the War of Independence, held Deputy's mandates under this condition. The political voices were gagged as long as they remained actively connected with the Army.

Meanwhile they saw those who had rendered far less eminent services than themselves in the War of Independence advanced to the highest positions in the State and were exercising a direct influence in the country's peace administration. While they themselves were engaged in the routine of Army inspectorates or in distant commands, far from the centre of the new political activities their former associates and subordinates were ruling the country, and, in many cases as, for instance, in the muddled settlement of the Moslem emigrants from Greece, ruling it very unsatisfactorily.

Kemal Pasha has been accused—with what justice it is difficult to say—of a tendency to emphasise the isolation of his position and prestige. It is clear, at any rate, from what has now taken place that a number of the leading Generals objected to their removal from the scene of honours and from all active participation in the political development of the country. They therefore took the occasion of the new session of the National Assembly to abandon their Army commands or inspectorates and to opt for the exercise of their Deputy's mandates. The leading General after the Ghazi Pasha, Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha, who defended the Eastern front in the War of Independence and who is known as the "Conqueror of Armenia," began the resignations from the Army by giving up his inspectorate of the 1st Army. He was followed by Ali Fuad Pasha, of the 2nd Army, by Ejevad Pasha, of the 3rd Army, who held the important command on the Irak front, and by Dajafar Tayar Pasha, of the 7th Army, who gained fame by organising a revolt against the Greeks in Thrace during the war. It is known that some of these resignations were handed in against the strong appeals of the Minister of Defence and the Chief of Staff. They involved four of the leading Army names, while other Generals, who settled the same question by giving up their Deputy's mandates and remaining in their Army posts, were less prominent.

Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha and Ali Fuad Pasha went on to emphasise their action by taking their places in the Assembly among a small group which may be called the "Dissatisfied Group," and which is led by Raout Bey, the ex-Premier, and General Refet Pasha, both, apparently, victims of the "policy of removal," whereby possible rivals to Ismet Pasha and to the Presidential prestige are kept at a distance. This at once put the Ismet group on the offensive, and when the parliamentary vice-presidents and commissions were elected they opposed a solid front to the candidates put forward by the "Dissatisfied Group" and prevented their obtaining any positions, even at the expense of greatly weakening the Commission of National Defence by rejecting the candidatures of Refet Pasha and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha. They even deliberately flouted them by rejecting Ali Fuad Pasha's candidature for one of the vice-presidents of the Assembly and electing thereto the very Minister of Reconstruction and Settlement whose maladministration of his department has produced such discontent throughout the country.

This first reverse of what may become the "General's Group" seems likely to be repeated, despite the attempt in certain organs of the Press to urge them to a frontal attack on Ismet Pasha. A number of observers indeed believe that the Kemal-Ismet combination is right in opposing any attempt of the Generals to assume power. They say that this was one of the mistakes of the Committee of Union and Progress, whose policy came to be fatally dictated by Enver, Djemal, and other political officers of unhappy memory. President Kemal Pasha, on the contrary, has deliberately followed another and a better system by giving the power not to his former Army comrades, but to the nation's nominees. This argument is, it is true, somewhat weakened in the eyes of the Generals by the fact that General Ismet Pasha, who was the President's right-hand man in the War of Independence, remains head of the Administration.

Nevertheless, it is certain that the Republicanism which is Kemal Pasha's ideal is incompatible with the policy of giving the leading administrative posts to a military oligarchy. This is what the President has all along avoided. He seems to recognise that the time has gone by when the Government of the country can be entrusted—as it was provisionally during the War—to the military, however signal may have been their services. The fact of having taken part in the Congress of Erzeroum or Sivas, and thus of having

been in at the very beginnin of the Nationalist Movement, does not, in his view, imply any right to aspire now to the highest offices of the State, just as to have contributed even largely to the military victory does not, in his view, qualify for political honours. The architects of the military victory have now to give place to new and different talents. It is against this policy that the present General's revolt has taken place.

✱ ✱ ✱

Attack on Government.

[From the 'Morning Post' Correspondent.]

Constantinople, Nov. 7.

ISMET PASHA being again indisposed, was absent from the Assembly yesterday when the debate impeaching his administration was continued. The Minister for the Interior, defended the Government, declaring that 390,000 Moslem immigrants from Greece had arrived, of whom 360,000 had been installed and only 30,000 of whom remained to be housed. Fifteen thousand houses and 14 model villages had been built, and building was continuing. He deplored the Opposition's inaccurate figures, saying that the mortality was under 2 per cent.

The Opposition, he continued, was acting contrary to the interests of the country in presenting the situation under false colours. It was treasonable to keep up these continual agitations. He stated that he had dissolved the "Association of Immigrants," which had published a secret manifesto attacking the Government. The new immigrants and the old inhabitants must merge.

Feeling rose high when Raouf Bey, the ex-Premier, and the leader of the Opposition attacked the Government for its general activities. He was greeted with the cry from the Government benches, "Raouf has spoken for an hour without saying the word 'Republic' once. We are suspicious of Raouf."

The debate was adjourned until to-morrow.

✱ ✱ ✱

Plight of Refugees.

[From the 'Daily Telegraph' Correspondent.]

Constantinople, 9th, November (Night).

The Grand National Assembly met again yesterday and continued its tumultuous discussion of affairs and the acts of the Ministry regarding the exchange of populations and reconstruction, and examined in detail the present judicial system. At the close of the debate the Cabinet obtained a vote of confidence by an immense majority. Thirty-two members left the Assembly before the vote was demanded, and of the remaining 175,147 voted in favour of the Cabinet 19 against, and the others abstained from voting. Referring to the way in which any critics of the Government who succeeded in touching vulnerable points in the armour of the administrators are treated and frequently accused, because of their courage and convictions, of treasonable ideas, the *Tanin* points out, as an example, the present position in England: "Should serious and efficacious control by the Opposition on the Government become impossible owing to the enormous success of the Conservatives in the recent elections and the great reduction of the Opposition it will be the Conservatives who will be the most affected, and they will regret most the deprivation of the wisdom and criticisms of such an adversary as Mr Asquith."

The *Tevhid E'ktar* devotes the leading article to-day to a comparison of the methods practised by past Governments of suppressing the true state of affairs from becoming public knowledge with the present Government's methods, and it states with regret that no difference is to be found.

The same paper publishes statistics regarding the condition of the Turkish refugees, which differ widely from those read by the

Minister of the Interior in the Assembly on Thursday. It states that in the Aidin vilayet 85 per cent. of the refugees have died at Magnesia, 40 per cent. at Samsoun, 30 per cent. at Adana and Mersina, 25 per cent. at Amasia and Tokat, 20 per cent. at Ismidt, 10 per cent. in Thraee, 8 per cent. at Constantinople, and amongst the children in the Constantinople area 75 per cent. Should these figures be correct, the criticism of those responsible for the installation of the exchanged refugees would appear to be perfectly just.

Considerable importance is being attached to the newly-formed party in the Assembly led by Reouf Bey, who call themselves the Republican party. They are said to be working for a dissolution of the present Government, and amongst the items of their programme is abolition of the right of the President of the Republic to veto, should he wish, any bill passed by the Assembly. At present they form only a small minority, but they have certainly found much favour in the Press during the last few days, and there is reason to believe that they will gain many new adherents. The next meeting of the Assembly is fixed for Tuesday, 11th November.

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Lines of Cleavage.

[From the 'Times' Correspondent.]

Constantinople, Nov. 9.

After a reasoned speech by Feridun Fikri Bey, who particularly attacked the Government's conduct of the exchange of populations and the reform of the judicial and educational systems, the debate in the Grand National Assembly again drifted into personalities, and attacks upon the Republicanism of certain leaders of the Opposition such as the two former Premiers, Captain Rauf Bey and General Refet Pasha. The latter vigorously defended himself, declaring that he desired neither Sultanate nor Caliphate, but that Yunus Nadi Bey (the Editor of the *Jumhuriyet*) was right when he declared that the fundamental question was one of principle.

The readiness of the Opposition to accept this challenge to its principles is proved by this morning's issue of the *Tanin*, in which Hussein Jahid Bey declares that the existing artificial system is doomed to destruction, and that the present political ferment is the prelude to such development.

What, he asks, will be the result of the duel between the principle of true National Sovereignty and the parody of this same sovereignty, which is destined to be the plaything of private ambitions. Possibly personal despotism may gain a victory, but only for a short time. After going on to hope that evolution will come about quietly, Hussein Jahid Bey says that he was filled with shame when he read in the last letter of his London Correspondent that the Conservatives regretted the defeat of Mr Asquith, and he contrasts such an attitude with that of the so-called champions of National Sovereignty, who regard criticism of the Turkish Government as high treason to the Republic.

Though the result of the vote in the Assembly will naturally be hailed as a victory for the Government it is clear from the columns of the *Tanin* and other Constantinople newspapers that the Opposition has no intention of abandoning the struggle, and it is said that whether the members of the Opposition are expelled from the Popular Party or secede voluntarily from that body, they mean to form a new Party with the title of Republican.

There are now three sub-divisions in the Grand National Assembly—(1) the Republicans, who put the principle of national sovereignty above all, and oppose the President's having the right of veto and the power of dissolution, (2) the Republicans, who are ready to filch certain prerogatives of the National Sovereignty and grant them to official persons or institutions, (3) the hesitators, who have not yet made up their minds between these two principles. From the words of Captain Rauf Bey on Thursday there is no doubt that he and his intimate partisans belong to the first category.

and desire that the President of the Republic should be more or less of a figurehead, and their pursuit of such a policy must entail an open breach with Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

The Government obtained an overwhelming majority in yesterday's vote of confidence by 147 to 19. It is clear that the attendance of members was scanty, as the full House is 273, there being at present 13 vacancies in the Assembly. Certain deputies are known to have left Angora during the last day or two, and it is evident that many of those still in town deliberately abstained from the division because they were unwilling or afraid, to go to the length of voting against the Government.

✦ ✦ ✦

First Breach Since the War.

[From the "Morning Post" Correspondent.]

Constantinople, Nov. 9.

DEPUTY RAOUF and the others who voted against the Government resigned to-day from the People's Party, whereof Kemal Pasha is the founder and leader. It is the first breach since the war. About sixty deputies are expected to follow Raouf.

Nov. 10.

Yesterday's secession from the People's Party comprises important names. Besides the ex-Premier, Raouf Bey, who is expected to lead the new party, it is considered certain to include Riza Nur Bey, Yuzuf Kemal Bey, Adnan Bey, General Kiazim Karabekir, General Ali Fuad, and General Refet Pasha, as well as about forty deputies who left the House when the vote of confidence was given to Ismet on Saturday. Current accusations that the reaction is in favour of Sultanism is vigorously rejected by this group, which intends to try to call itself the "Republican Party." It will found its programme on constitutional reforms, including the withdrawal of the right of veto from the President and direct elections in one degree.

The strength of the new party is expected first to be about sixty. Its formation marks a rebellion against the iron discipline favoured by Kemal and Ismet which kept all the deputies within one party on the pretext of consolidating the new regime and the national safety.

The new party claims that it is restoring normal Parliamentary conditions under which an organised Opposition would exist to control the Government. It will certainly assist towards freer expression of differences of opinion which lately have always been silenced by cries of anti-Republicanism.

✦ ✦ ✦

An "Opposition" in Turkey.

[From the "Times" Correspondent.]

Constantinople Nov. 10.

THE Deputies who voted against the Government in yesterday's division have forestalled the intention of their opponents to oust them from the Popular Party by resigning their membership of that body, and it is thought that some 30 other dissidents will quickly join the new party.

If, as is expected, the new party takes the title of Republican, it will be a marked rejoinder to the partisans of the Government, who continue their abusive campaign against the members of the Opposition, accusing them of being Monarchists, Caliphists and all-round reactionaries and declare that they are seeking to establish a Republic of Generals such as may be found in China.

The programme of the new party is said to differ but little from that of the Popular Party, but the essential points will be set out in the declaration which the party will shortly submit to the Government. Meanwhile it is known that direct and universal suffrage, the popular election of prefects and the abolition of the presidential right of veto are among the main planks.

In spite, therefore, of the menaces recently made by the Ghazi Pasha, especially during his Black Sea tour, the single-party system has come to an end, and Turkey will now have at least two parties, if not more. At present it is by no means certain whether all the dissidents will rally round the standard of Captain Rauf Bey or whether independent groups may not be formed, ready, however, to co-operate in the work of controlling the Government. All future developments are, for the moment, obscure.

The Cabinet met yesterday at the house of the President of the Republic at Chankaya and under his presidency. Meanwhile the Opposition Press is by no means disturbed by Saturday's defeat in the Chamber, and dwells rather on the fact that the Government only obtained the support of a bare 50 per cent. of the total membership of the House. It argues that General Ismet Pasha is responsible for the split because his Cabinet disregarded the just complaints of the country made both inside and outside the Assembly and proceeded on its own course.

✦ ✦ ✦

Republicans' Stricter Discipline.

[From the "Morning Post" Correspondent.]

Constantinople, Nov. 11

POLITICAL reorganisation continues at Angora, and yesterday the People's Party met. When 18 resignation letters had been read, the Minister of the Interior, Redjeb Bey, whose speech in the Assembly largely contributed to the Ismet Government's recent victory, strongly attacked Raouf Bey, the leader of the dissentients, accusing him of being an insincere Republican. In order to checkmate the new party, which intended to call itself Republican, he then proposed that the People's Party be henceforth called the Republican People's Party, which was accepted unanimously.

The Party proceeded to establish stricter rules of discipline. Thereunder members may not interpellate the Government in the Assembly unless the Party has first discussed and approved the interpellation, no member may issue a declaration or a publication contrary to the principles or decisions of the Party. If breaches of discipline are alleged against members, a "Court of Honour," consisting of seven members, will be elected to pronounce thereon.

Meanwhile, General Ali Fouad Pasha has arrived back after handing over his Army post, and has rallied to the new Opposition group. The latter is engaged in fixing its principles. Turkish opinion generally welcomes the establishment of a new Party.



Gandhi at Canossa.

IN recent history there have perhaps been few things more pathetic than the capitulation of Gandhi to the party of violence in India. Yet there can be no doubt of it; the latest news is scarcely capable of another interpretation. To those against whom he had put up so long and so steadfast a fight Gandhi has at last surrendered his political influence, his followers, and—what is of more importance still—his conscience. It would be difficult to represent to an Indian the position that Gandhi has always held in the estimation of the English. It is true that of late years he has offered an unwavering hostility to all that Western civilisation stands for. He has left no stone unturned to pave the way for our departure from India. He has deliberately and frankly demanded a return to the life and conditions of the sixteenth century. His ideas have seemed to us incompatible with the modern regime which the world has, willy-nilly, to accept, and from his impossible idealism we have steadily, and yet with sympathy, attempted to preserve India. In our view—more worldly, perhaps, but more reasonable than his own—his proposals for the abolition of all that modern civilisation demands for its comfort and for its protection seem fraught with sore danger, to the people he is so earnestly attempting to help. But we have never failed to recognise in Gandhi an opponent who was worthy of respect. We have found in him a straight and fearless champion of his creed. Unless a touch of vanity may be so esteemed, he has been free from any kind of personal weakness. Alone—or almost alone—among those who have

opposed our rule in India, Gandhi has offered an example of a man of spotless personal life, of a man who has never received one anna for the conscientious work he has carried out among, and on behalf of, his own people. Upto this moment he has been consistency itself. He has been as ready to denounce any form of brutality in Indian sedition as what he has regarded as the oppression of British rule. He has conducted his campaign against ourselves with a frankness and, allowing for a certain natural Oriental colour, with a balance which has won him the attention and regard of both England and India. By every means in his power he has consistently opposed the continuance of European civilisation in India, and it is no small thing that he should have won from those who believed him to be dangerously and even fatally wrong a full measure of understanding and almost of sympathy.

It is therefore with a sense of almost personal regret that we hear that Gandhi has surrendered to the party of violence led by Mr. C. R. Das. Against this agitator and his avowed sympathy with assassination he had up to this moment offered a faithful and steady opposition. But it seems beyond question that, however the main issues he camouflaged to disguise his fall, Gandhi has now made the journey to Canossa. He has given in on the question of destructive representation of seditious India on the Councils. This is not in itself a matter for much surprise. Even before his imprisonment Gandhi had in some measure accepted the principle of returning Non-Co-operation members to the Councils with the intention of making the latter ridiculous. It will be remembered that a certain sweetmeat-seller who was returned at a by-election for Delhi found after taking his seat that his dignity demanded that he should regard his new membership as a serious charge, whereby Gandhi was much discouraged. But his practical acceptance of the policy of violence advocated by Mr. C. R. Das is another matter. It is true that Gandhi once more denounced "direct action" at the meeting in which his surrender to Mr. Das was made known. But words cannot prevail against acts. His open acquiescence in the policy of the leader of the semi-extreme party is a step which he may repent, but which he cannot without difficulty disown. Mr. Das, openly condones assassination in a political cause. For the moment at least Gandhi has made his submission to the same policy - the policy of violence which he had so long and so valiantly withstood. Now this volte face spells the ruin of Gandhi's influence in India. However deep the disagreement was between the English views as to the safe administration of India and the Utopian theories of Gandhi, there has hitherto never been lacking on the part of the former a sense of respect for a man who was willing to sacrifice everything in life - riches, honours, comforts, and even the sport of his fellow politicians - in order that he might carry through a reaction which seemed to him to be more important than the well-being either of himself or of any other individual in India. He was ready to sacrifice all and sundry upon this altar.

But facts have to be faced. Gandhi has surrendered in Calcutta to the party of violence. Although he may, and probably will, recant his recent weakness, he can never again have the authority in India that he has exercised for the last five years. It is perhaps useless to inquire into the cause of this defection. Perhaps Mr. Das has been too clever for him. But the simplest and most obvious explanation is that, like most Orientals, Gandhi, after the passing of his fiftieth year, has experienced an inability to carry on any longer a vigorous intellectual fight. This premature lack of tenacity is common nearly to all statesmen and public figures in the Southern East. Gandhi trained no one to succeed him, and, indeed, allowed no one else to exercise even the semblance of authority within the circle of his influence. He has, therefore, no one who can take his place, partly for the reasons we have just given, and partly because his personal sanctity of life has had few imitators among his disciples. With the defection of Gandhi there vanishes a great ideal from the stage of India. His followers, disheartened and, as they will no doubt believe, betrayed, will put up no further fight against the crude methods of Mr. Das and those extremists to whom Mr. Das has bowed the knee. For that reason the surrender

of Gandhi is a matter that nearly and deeply affects us. A strong hand upon the reins is needed more than ever, and we may, indeed, find some comfort in the fact that, in the place of Lord Olivier, we have Lord Birkenhead as Secretary for India. For it can scarcely be doubted that Lord Olivier's weakness in refusing to condemn Mr. Das's views about killing being no murder has played no small part in the discouragement of Gandhi and in his reluctant acquiescence in the policy of violence, which, to his everlasting credit, he had devoted the best years of his life to denounce.

The Daily Telegraph



Verse.

Love and Life.

(A Free Adaptation from the Musnawi of Jalal-ud-din Rumi)

Close lip and eye and ear, and kiss this glass,
Where fire and water in one glance unite;
Forget thyself and let all shadows pass,
The Mind is sorrow's mansion - quench its light.

Ah! what is love? - the odour of desire!
And what is life? - the sigh of sorrows vain;
And light is but the glow of heart on fire;
And earth and sky the picture of our pain.
But in His eye is Light that cannot die,
Enkindling world on world in starry flow;
His Love is Truth of soul's immortal youth,
And Life, the fountain-source of all we know.

All Light is but the image of His eye,
Each image but the shadow of His Truth,
The glass may break and darken earth and sky,
But He will live in everlasting youth,
He sees Himself, - but thousand eyes of dream
Play in the light and shadow of our heart,
The soul awakes, and vanish all that seem, -
And Man and God unite, never to part.
One moment in the sweet embrace of Love, -
And thou wilt rule o'er realms of earth and sky;
Behold the light that shines in Heaven above
But as thy own, reflected from thine eye.
Who loves my life is but a secret foe,
And he who seeks my death is truly friend;
The moon-light of my heart is waning low,
The lute is broken, let this story end.

Hark to the cry that rises in the night!
And now a sweeter voice is calling thee,
Ah, didst thou hear the Messenger aright?
The Bridegroom calls - His smile will set thee free.

Beyond the mind His love is undivided,
He claims His own, and calls thee to thy goal;
His tender grace enkindles in thy face
The light of Life eternal in the Soul.
He claims His own, and calls thee to His throne,
And in thy image sees Himself again;
What fear hast thou? - the seal is broken now, -
And in one joy unite the parted twain.

I was when Time nor Space, nor Name nor Place
Nor aught of earth or sky was anywhere,
I gazed within, and saw my image in
All life that is in sky or earth or air.
Now break the glass, nor tell of life that was,
Or is to be: and lo! the light above,
And break the lute; - the heart that spake is mute -
The One was, many, - all are One, - and naught will be but Love!

N. V. THADANI.

"The Council."

By The Hon. Mr. GUP.

'As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please.'

—As You Like It.

A large number of old subscribers of *The Comrade* have pressed us to reprint the humorous descriptions of Council Debates from its *Gup* columns. This they desire partly in order to revive old memories themselves and partly to introduce "the Hon. Mr. Gup" to the new generation which, although it is not unacquainted with Mr M. A. Jinnah, Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sir Trevelyan Wynne, and Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, and had known the late Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, certainly did not know them as "The Bombay Duck," "Bootlair Sahib," "Suren," "Cheery Chitnis," "the Mild Hindu" and "Bhupen Babu" whose Council activities were chronicled in *The Comrade* perhaps with greater truth than accuracy. If a large enough number of intending purchasers send in names for registration and book their orders, we shall gladly reprint this lively chronicle and re-present the figures of those that had played their part on the Council stage from ten to fifteen years ago from the "Eiffel-towering personality" of the Hon. Mr. Long fellow to a tiny predecessor of Lord Lytton, looking every inch a Lieutenant-Governor."

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The Comrade.

A Weekly Review.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

William Morris ---

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CONTENTS

PAGE	PAGE
BI-AMMAN 97	1. ETL-A-ETL---
EGYPT ON THE EVE OF THE CRISIS--	Flutter in Europe's
On the Eve of the New Session 98	Provinces .. . 103
Opening of Egypt's Parliament 98	Prevention of Bi-Allah in
Speech from the Throne 99	Mexico .. . 104
Summary of Events 100	Party Split in Turkey .. . 104
	Distinguished Turkish
	Invaders .. . 105
	Turkey and France .. . 105
	LEADING ARTICLE
	The British in the Sudan .. . 105
	ADVERTISEMENTS .. . 112

Bi-Amman.

BI-AMMAN, before she left us for good, told us to look upon our only sister as our mother in her place. Every desire of Bi-Amman was a command to us, and the first thing we did when we returned home after burying her was to go straight to our sister and put our heads at her feet and kiss them in acknowledging her as the Queen of ourselves and of our households. On her behalf and on our own we desire to thank all our dear friends and co-workers for the kind and consoling messages they have sent us from all parts of India and outside, too. Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Sikhs, Jains, and Christians, all joining in paying homage to and heaping honours on a brave departed soldier of India who laid down her life while fighting for God and country. Friends would excuse us if we cannot acknowledge all the loving messages separately. The work before us is so heavy and difficult that we have no time left for mourning or private sorrows. (While preparations for the funeral were going on and Bi-Amman's body was lying in the house, one of us who had been up the whole night was writing a leading article and correcting proofs, and perhaps this act of a devoted son has pleased her departed soul far more than any crying and lamentations.) She repeatedly and earnestly prayed to God to give her a few more years so that with her own eyes she might see Swaraj established in India. She used to say she was six years old when she saw a change--India's Raj passing into foreign hands; she desired to see another change before she died India's Raj coming back into Indian hands and this time a real, People's Raj. God in His inscrutable wisdom knows what is best for us, and everything He does is for our good. So we cheerfully submit. But before we carried her body to the Jaisai Masjid for prayers and burial, we, her children and grandchildren, took a solemn oath invoking God's aid that we

would all try to walk in her footsteps and do our utmost to realise her dream as early as possible.

While we cannot separately acknowledge the many messages and letters we have received, we think it our duty to publicly acknowledge the following letter written in Urdu and received from a Hindu sister in the Punjab which has touched our hearts and cheered us a great deal. This is what she writes. "Namaskar, I do not know how to express the reason of my writing this letter. In the Conference that part of your speech in which you made mention of our Bi-Amman was most heart-grIPPING. Hardly was there an eye that did not shed a tear for that beloved lady. I became devoted to her from the first day of her darshan. I know such souls come to this world at great intervals, and so far I have not set my eyes on her equal. I cannot find words to express the sorrow her death caused me. Yes, she was aged old. But poor India needed her badly. That is why her death is more painful than of many a younger woman. I do not know who will fill her place. I would have liked all the women of India to have met together to mourn her loss, but the condition of the country is not favourable. The story of such a good and true woman ought to be written in letters of gold and sent broadcast to every village in India so that every woman and girl may try to walk in her footsteps. I pray to Ishwar that He will give me guidance to follow her example. It is my great desire that her memory be kept green in some form. I wanted to lay some flowers of my shradha (faith) and bhakti (devotion) on her grave and to lay them with my own hands too, but that is not possible just now. God willing when I come to Delhi next I will satisfy my heart's desire. I will go in the body to her grave and put a teeka of that sacred earth on my forehead. In the meantime I am sending a humble sum of Rs 10. Kindly get Rs. 5 worth of the best flowers procurable, and lay them on my behalf on her grave, and with the rest buy and distribute sweets or fruits to poor children in her name. Parmatma knows how my heart is filled with thoughts of her and how many times daily I think of her. For us such valuable lives are so rare, and even these few are being snatched away from us. This is the misfortune of poor India. In any case we have to bow down our heads before Parmatma. This is a private letter. I was a silent devotee of hers then, and so am I now, and so will I always remain. I am neither used to demonstration, nor desire it; so it is not at all necessary to mention this to any outsider, nor is it permitted."

We fear we had to disregard her desire in this matter to some extent, but we withhold her name. This letter to us from the Punjab is a happy augury of the glorious future that we desire.

The best memorial to Bi-Amay will be if all India's brave sons and daughters sink their petty differences and unite to win freedom for our unhappy land.

DELHI,

12th December, 1924.

SHAUKAT ALI.

MOHAMED ALI.

Egypt on the Eve of the Crisis.

On the Eve of the New Session.

[From the "Times" Cairo Correspondent.]

THE new Parliamentary session opens under very different conditions from those amid which its predecessor terminated. During the four months that have intervened since Parliament rose the situation in the country has undergone visible change.

At the time of Zaghlul Pasha's departure the Constitutional Liberals and the Watanists, the sole opposition in the country, declared what was for all practical purposes a political truce, and gave him a unanimous vote of confidence, so that he might meet Mr. MacDonald with the support of a united nation. As the conversations failed, the truce is at an end, and these two parties, in spite of their almost negligible strength in the House—17 against 195—may be expected to raise a lively debate in regard to the breakdown of the London conversations, which has undoubtedly created widespread disappointment and depression.

A marked wave of discontent is noticeable to-day in the country, based to a great extent on the failure of Zaghlul Pasha's internal administration,—discontent which would have been greatly dissipated by a satisfactory settlement, but which the absence of such a result has tended rather to accentuate.

The past eight months have indeed been one long story of abuse of power and administrative injustice. The interference of the Wafd Committees in provincial administration, the preferment to positions of authority of men whose sole claim appears to have been their loyalty to the Wafd cause and their readiness to carry out its every behest, the almost scandalous phases of the inquiry into the so-called Khedivist plot, with its stories of attempted interference with the cause of justice, its wholesale arrests, its detention of apparently innocent people for long periods and their release without any explanation, and the absence of any official report, although the investigation has lasted nearly four months—all these have had their cumulative effect on the people in general and combine to create a much more serious feeling of opposition than before.

There is, moreover, considerable dissatisfaction in the Civil Service. The Wafdists used to complain bitterly of the action of their predecessors in nominating partisans and relatives to posts which normally have been the goal of the permanent Civil Service. The present Government has, however, been just as guilty of the same offence and the degree of insecurity of tenure, which has now been introduced into the Civil Service generally, is clearly indicated by the refusal of all the councillors of the Native Court of Appeal to accept appointment as Procurator-General, a post which has hitherto been coveted by every member of the Egyptian Magistracy.

In all fairness it must be said that, left to himself, Zaghlul Pasha would never have permitted the administrative and other abuses that have been committed. But he and his colleagues are subject to the dictation of the Wafd Executive Committee, and, as these abuses have been committed either in his name by his supporters or with the connivance of his colleagues in the Cabinet, he, as titular head of the Government, has to accept responsibility for them.

Whether the dissatisfaction that exists in every direction will find expression in Parliament in a sufficiently strong manner to constitute a menace to the Zaghlulist Cabinet is, however, doubtful, as there is no central figure around which an Opposition can rally.

The truth is that there is still to-day only one personality in the country—Saad Pasha Zaghlul. So far there has not appeared, either in or out of Parliament, anyone to challenge the position he enjoys in virtue of his eloquence, his knowledge of how to manipulate

his fellow-countrymen, and his prestige; and, unless something unforeseen intervenes, he has, by reason of his personal authority and the strong hold which he exercises over the country through his nominees, every prospect of maintaining his domination during the present Parliamentary Session, in spite of the general discontent in the country. Nevertheless, we may confidently expect the next six months to provide interesting developments in the Egyptian political situation.



Opening of Egypt's Parliament.

[From the "Daily Chronicle's" Special Correspondent,
George Renwick.]

Cairo, 12th November.

WITH all the state and pomp and circumstance that Cairo could muster, King Fuad to-day opened the second session of the first Parliament of Egypt Independent.

All the streets along which the glittering Royal procession passed were lined with troops standing shoulder to shoulder. Flags flew in profusion, and cannon boomed out from the moment when his Majesty left the Abdin Palace at 9.40 until the conclusion of the Royal speech in the Chamber three-quarters of an hour later.

Crowds in the streets, I am told, were not nearly so great as they were when, eight months ago, the first session opened; but still they were enthusiastic enough, and the King and his Prime Minister, Zaghlul Pasha, were cordially greeted as they drove along the extended route, which took 20 minutes to cover.

His Majesty, wearing the turbouche and military uniform of dark blue and gold, rode—together with Zaghlul Pasha—in the highly ornamental State carriage, drawn by six magnificent bays, and accompanied by an escort of Egyptian Lancers in gorgeous blue and purple uniform—the whole making a wonderfully picturesque spectacle.

The Prime Minister was in black uniform, with a superabundance of gold braid. He wore his sword.

Some time before the King's coming, the princes, the Ministers, the Diplomatic Corps, and nearly all the notables of the country had arrived at the chamber.

LORD ALLENBY'S RECEPTION.

It was observed with interest that Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, the High Commissioner, who was accompanied by Viscountess Allenby and Mr. Clark Kerr (Counsellor of Embassy), had a special reception.

Troops saluted as the High Commissioner and his party were conducted to their places in the centre of the diplomats' gallery. This was not done in the case of any other foreign representative.

It will be remembered that, on his return from England, Zaghlul Pasha said the High Commissioner would be treated in exactly the same way as the representatives of any other country. That the Prime Minister has not altered the procedure, however, is looked upon as another proof that he is now desirous not to raise any troublesome questions.

In the distinguished gathering were also General Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan, and General Sir Richard Haking, commanding the British forces in Egypt.

KING FUAD ON THE THRONE.

Parliament House itself is the French Chamber of Deputies in miniature—a well-arranged un-Oriental place, with white walls, dark mahogany furnishings, and red carpets.

On a dais is the Throne in red, white and gold, with a canopy of red and gold.

Senators and Deputies were nearly all in black—in morning coats or flowing robes—with tarbouches or white turbans.

In the gallery in front of the throne the diplomatic representatives in their varied and picturesque uniforms provided the only bright colours in the scene.

Above sat the ladies of the Royal household, veiled and in black, their sections of the gallery being enclosed in a sort of mosquito netting which, while not hindering their view, partly hid them from the view of others.

When King Fuad entered and took his place on the throne, everybody rose; and then the Princes came in and seated themselves on his Majesty's right.

Zaghlul Pasha and his Ministers, all clad alike, made a rather gauche entry—all of them save one forgetting to salute the King as they passed in front of him to their places on his left.

Then, without further ceremony, the Prime Minister read the Speech from the Throne.

He followed the manuscript very closely; he read in a slow, low, monotonous voice; taking 25 minutes to get through the document.

There were cheers at two points only—first, after a very short reference to the Sudan, and then, more prolonged, when the Prime Minister's recent escape from assassination was mentioned.

Otherwise the speech dealt with home affairs, and was listened to in complete silence.

REFERENCE TO THE SUDAN.

"Our Government has concentrated its efforts chiefly on the independence of the country in its two parts—Egypt and the Sudan."

That was the first of two parts of the speech to be cheered.

Then followed an almost equally short reference to the breakdown of the London Conversations, but the speech expressed "confidence that we shall reach our goal."

There was no reference whatever to the further policy of the Government regarding the questions at issue with England.

EGYPT'S HOME AFFAIRS.

For about 22 of the 25 minutes the speech occupied the references were all to matters of domestic reform; and, taken together, they make a tremendous programme.

The necessity for economy and for efficient Governmental administration was strongly stressed, there was to be considerable expenditure on railways and on "important projects concerning the merchant marine."

Agriculture (with special reference to cotton-growing) had a long paragraph to itself; then the needed improvements in public security, public health, and justice were shortly mentioned.

The speech went on to state that education is progressing—"a progress which fills our paternal heart with joy."

Important Bills were promised regarding compulsory elementary education and the reform of higher education and university training, "with a view to restoring the great historic tradition of Egyptian culture."

ARMS AND THE MEN—A SURPRISE.

Then followed a little surprise.

"National defence," the speech went on, "is one of the gravest problems to be faced," and the Government will "augment the number of army units and introduce those particular arms which are not at present in existence."

The speech ended on a slight note of warning. "Reforms" it said, "are necessary for the life, property and progress of the country; but their realisation in a period of transition from one regime to another would be laborious and difficult."

There was, therefore, all the more need for the Government to be helped by the wise assistance of Parliament.

CRIES OF "EGYPT AND SUDAN."

At the end of the speech, King Fuad rose, bowed to and saluted the House, and so left—to the accompaniment of cries of "Long live King Fuad!"

There were too some shouts of "Long live the King of Egypt and Sudan!"

The House then adjourned till Saturday, when the work of what may possibly be a very momentous session will begin.

ENGLAND AND SUDAN LATER

It must be said the reception accorded to the speech on the whole was cold.

It will scarcely please extremists, and it will give rise to much general criticism.

It is clear, however, that Zaghlul is really seeking power and peace.

Domestic reforms are urgent if he is to keep the masses on his side for long, and peace is essential for further dealing with England at a future time when the atmosphere is calmer.

That is a perfectly sensible policy, but the very general view here is that, as things are in Egypt at present—in an excited Egypt new to and raw in politics—Zaghlul Pasha will undoubtedly have a stiff fight to win through.



Speech from the Throne.

THE most important paragraph of the Speech from the Throne was as follows:—

"At the invitation of the British Prime Minister, our Prime Minister visited London in September to initiate conversations which might lead to the opening of official negotiations, after having received formal assurance that this step would in no wise compromise the rights of Egypt. The conversations have not resulted in the opening of negotiations, but we are full of confidence that we shall attain our goal by reason of the strength of our rights, the union of our people, and their attachment to our Throne, and the solidarity of all in preserving our sacred rights in the two parts of the Valley of the Nile without any renunciation and without admission or recognition of any act or fact likely to prejudice them."

The speech went on to describe the attempt on Zaghlul Pasha as neither a social crime nor a revolutionary act, but the deed of an individual medically declared to be insane. Reference was made to the prosperous condition of the finances of Egypt, and the speech contained the statement that the public services were working efficiently, which constituted the best refutation of the general disorganization which interested persons had predicted as being the inevitable consequence of new regime and the departure of the foreign officials, and that the changes made in the personnel of the Administration were designed to strengthen the public services by the collaboration of young and capable elements devoted to the welfare of the country.

Detailed questions requiring urgent consideration included railways, plans for the establishment of a merchant marine, provision for inland navigation, drainage, irrigation, maintenance of the quality of Egyptian cotton, the increase of hospitals and dispensaries, in connexion with which much was hoped from private benevolence, and measures for the introduction of compulsory education. The speech also referred to the necessity for providing for the defence of the country by means of an increase in the Army and the provision of new armaments. Regret was expressed that the Parliamentary vacation had witnessed external and internal difficulties, notably in the Sudan, which had disturbed the people and preoccupied the Government, but the latter's wise policy had greatly contributed to keep the rights of Egypt intact and to maintain cordial relations with foreign Powers."

At the conclusion of the Speech, in which the references to the Sudan were much applauded, Ahmed Pasha Ziwar, the President of the Senate, called for three cheers for the King.

Summary of Events.

[Special for "The Comrade."]

SEARCH FOR A "MODUS VIVENDI."

ENGLISH MAIL papers received after the telegrams announcing the murder of Sir Lee Stack and the steps taken by Britain after that event to crush Egypt and destroy the "Condominium" in the Sudan indicate clearly enough that the last person and the last party that could by any stretch of imagination be supposed to have had a hand in the murder were Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul and the Zaghlulists. On the 6th November, less than a fortnight before the outrage, *La Liberté*, the journal published in French, and alleged by the correspondents of English newspapers in Cairo to be the organ of the Zaghlul Government had published an article asking why, failing an agreement between Great Britain and Egypt, there should not be a *modus vivendi*. Of the three courses open to Egypt, in the absence of any prospect of an agreement, it rejected revolutionary procedure, as that could not affect the British authorities, who were no longer responsible for the maintenance of internal order. It also rejected the second course, namely, a diplomatic fight with the British Government. The uncompromising attitude of the Zaghlul Ministry supported by public opinion was likely to cause grave incidents, and it was foreseen that "the Conservatives will not allow themselves to be stopped by the considerations which have hitherto prevented British intervention in the internal affairs of an independent State. . . . The requirements of the present situation imposed on Egypt continual political intercourse with the British Government and it is necessary to avoid daily incidents. As the British Government has declared that its policy is based on the Declaration of February 28, 1922, and the Zaghlul Ministry declines to recognize that Declaration, or in any way to admit the position which Great Britain has reserved for herself in Egypt, it is indispensable to substitute for the Declaration another diplomatic instrument which would be a *modus vivendi*. This instrument, after noting the claims of both sides and the impossibility of arriving at a general agreement, would establish for, say, three or four years a system of political and diplomatic relations between the two countries." The *Times* Cairo Correspondent, from whose letter we have extracted the above, then goes on to state that this organ of the Zaghlul Government "suggests that Egypt could obtain in this way provisional conditions much more favourable than those provided in the Declaration, and that she could insist on obtaining the agreement of the British Government to her admission to the League of Nations. As regards the Sudan, without prejudice to her rights, the Egyptian Government should be able to secure immediate effective participation in the administration of that country. As regards the Suez Canal, by adopting the idea of co-operation propounded in the British White Paper, Great Britain could agree to the participation of the Egyptian Army in the protection of the Canal until that Army was in a position to undertake the common service alone, a matter which could be reconsidered after the expiration of the term of the *modus vivendi*. The journal considers that, while this would not entail any renunciation of Egyptian rights, such a *modus vivendi* would visibly improve the present situation."

Now *La Liberté* had explained that its proposals must not be taken as reflecting the ideas of Zaghlul Pasha. The publication of this article aroused a storm of protest in the Opposition Press of Egypt, and was regarded in Opposition circles as a device to ensure the Zaghlulist Ministry remaining in power until the next elections five years hence. So on the 9th November the *Balagh* published an interview with Zaghlul Pasha, in which he categorically denied having inspired the article, and declared that he had not deviated from the policy which he had enunciated on his return from London. It is true that the Zaghlulists disapproved of the proposals as being tantamount to the recognition of the Declaration of February 28, 1922 the repudiation of which is a fundamental part of their political creed. Nevertheless the *modus vivendi* proposals were regarded in London circles "as a welcome sign of a desire on the part of the Egyptian Government to escape out of the blind alley in which it found itself in consequence of Zaghlul Pasha's

methods during his recent visit to that country;" and *La Liberté's* rejection of "revolutionary methods"—which the *Times* at least understood apparently to mean "assassination"—was regarded in London "as a vindication of the Declaration of 1922, in virtue of which the British Government left to the Egyptian Government the full responsibility for maintaining order in Egypt." This shows what, according to British newspapers themselves, Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul and his Government were thinking. And yet the moment Sir Lee Stack's murder takes place, it is they who are held responsible for the outrage, and driven out of office by British pressure on the yielding "King of Egypt."

It, however, seems that the proposals of *La Liberté* were not original, for Ismail Sidqy Pasha who was a member of the Adly Mission to London in 1921, and who has been offered office once more by Ziwar Pasha, wrote to the *Siyassa* of Cairo to say that the *modus vivendi* proposals were made by no other person than the Marquis of Curzon himself during the negotiations when a rupture seemed inevitable, but that even Adly Pasha, the leader of Egyptian "Moderates," would not accept them. English newspapers state that Sidqy Pasha is himself one of the strongest and most ardent of the advocates of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement, but they state that even he regards the present suggestions "dangerous and unacceptable."

The fate of the *modus vivendi* proposals does not concern us here, but it will not be without interest if we reproduce certain extracts from the English press to show the spirit in which Zaghlulists' moderation and co-operation were received. The *Times*, summarising opinion "in well informed circles in London," wrote as follows. —

"The suggestion that Egyptian troops should be drafted into the Canal Zone to co-operate with the British forces comes 40 years too late, because the co-operation of the two Armies is an old and well-established custom. As to the idea that at some future time, not too far removed, Egyptian forces could take over the sole responsibility for guarding the Suez Canal, it meets, and will always meet, with a very definite refusal. A favourable feature of the Egyptian situation is that throughout the recent difficulties the British authorities have been able to rely upon the friendly co-operation of France in all matters in which French interests have been affected.

"The Egyptian Government seems to imagine that it is in a position to place insurmountable difficulties in the way of the British administration of the Sudan. From the Egyptian side it has been repeatedly suggested that it is in the power of the Government in Cairo to oblige Sir Lee Stack to leave the Sudan if he does not carry out the orders sent to him from that quarter. It has been forgotten evidently that Sir Lee Stack is in the Sudan in a dual capacity, as Governor-General under the Agreement of January, 1899, and as Sirdar, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army. In the latter capacity he is a servant of the Egyptian Government, which may dismiss him if it thinks fit to do so, but as Governor-General of the Sudan Sir Lee Stack cannot be removed without the consent of the British Government. Not only that, but according to clause 4 of the Agreement of 1899 his powers in the Sudan are paramount and cannot be impaired by means of an Egyptian administrative decree."

It was obviously with a view to remove even such an indication of "Condominium" in the Sudan that the British Government was determined even before the death of Sir Lee Stack to put an end to the "dual capacity" of the Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and the Governor-General of the Sudan, and shortly afterwards Sir Geoffrey Francis Archer was appointed only as Governor-General of the Sudan.

The *Times* itself, which regarded the *modus vivendi* proposals as "a welcome sign that responsible persons on the Lower Nile are beginning to realise the need of coming to a clear understanding with Great Britain," nevertheless, wrote as follows:—

"What exactly could be achieved by the *modus vivendi* which the Egyptian newspaper advocates is not quite clear. The present

to be somewhat at cross-purposes." That is what even the apologists for Britain had to admit. By the end of March, 1884, the growing danger of General Gordon, and the grave national responsibility involved began to be realised in Great Britain, and on the 8th April the Adjutant-General addressed a Memorandum to the Secretary of State for War detailing the measures required for placing 6,500 British troops "in the neighbourhood of Shendi" more than 100 miles from Khartum. But "the Battle of the Routes" which had begun much earlier continued so long that it was not until the 9th of September that Lord Wolseley, the hero of Tell-el-Kebir, who was to command the relieving force, arrived at Cairo.

THE FALL OF KHARTUM AND GORDON'S DEATH

Practically the choice lay between the Nile and the Suakin-Berber road. The first involved a distance of 1650 miles along a river strewn with cataracts which obstructed navigation. The second entitled a desert march of some 250 miles, one section of which was waterless. When Lord Wolseley reached Cairo the plans of operations were somewhat modified; a camel corps of 1,100 men selected from 28 regiments in England was added; and the "fighting force to be placed in line somewhere in the neighbourhood of Shendi" was fixed at 5,400. A committee of three officers had reported in July that a brigade could easily be conveyed in small boats from Cairo to Dongola in the time stated by Lord Wolseley, and that if necessary, a still larger force could be sent without insuperable difficulties by water to Khartum. The construction of whale boats had begun on the 12th of August, but the first batch arrived at Wadi Halfa only on the 14th of October, and it was on the 25th of that month that the first boat was hauled through the second cataract. The mounted forces proceeded up the banks, and the first half battalion embarked at Gemai, 870 miles from Khartum, on the 5th of November 10 days before the date to which it had been assumed General Gordon could hold out. In a straggling way the boats worked their way up to Korti, piloted by Canadian *voyageurs*. The labour was very great, and the troops, most of whom were having their first lesson in rowing, found the privations of their unaccustomed conditions to be very severe. By the 25th of December, only 2,220 men had reached Korti, of whom only about 800 had been conveyed by the whale boats, the last of which did not arrive there till the 27th of January *i. e.*, the day following the death of Gordon and the fall of Khartum. Beyond Korti lay the very difficult section of the river to Abu Hamed, which was quite unknown. And yet Abu Hamed itself was no less than 350 miles from Khartum. It was clear at Korti that something must be done at once, and on the 12th of December General Stewart was despatched with a column to occupy some wells about a hundred miles away on the desert route to Metemma. He returned on the 5th of January, and restarted on the 8th, with orders to establish a fort at Abu Klea and to occupy Metemma. This Desert Column, 1,800 men, with 2,880 camels, and some horses, succeeded in occupying Abu Klea wells, and formed a rough fort under fire by which General Stewart was fatally wounded. The Desert Column advanced, but was now greatly exhausted and when it approached Metemma it found the place to be too strong for an assault. On the morning of the 24th January, General Sir C. Wilson on whom the command had devolved started in the steamers sent by Gordon with only 20 British soldiers in red coats and about 280 Sudanese. One of the steamers twice grounded and lost a whole day. But when at 11 a. m. on the 28th January Khartum was sighted it soon became clear that the town was in the hands of the enemy. The steamers turned and proceeded down stream under a heavy fire. Both were wrecked and Sir C. Wilson's party was rescued some days later by Lord Charles Beresford, who had come up on receipt of news carried by a lieutenant in a row boat. Even if this party had arrived at Khartum two days earlier, how could the arrival of 20 British red-coats, with orders to return at once, have affected the situation of a garrison reduced to starvation?

VII. THE DESERT COLUMN AND THE RIVER COLUMN.

The situation of the Desert Column and of its transport was so imperfectly understood at Korti that impossible plans were being formed there with reference to it. But General Sir Redvers Buller arrived at Gubat where the Column was, and averted impending disaster by deciding upon its withdrawal. On the 16th of March the Desert Column had returned to Korti.

The advance from Korti of the River Column began under General Earle on the 20th December, but on the 10th of February the General was killed in an engagement and the Column now under General Brackenbury continued its slow advance. On the 24th of February it was still some 25 miles below Abu Hamed and 375 miles from Khartum when it received orders to retire and reach Korti on the 8th of March.

VIII. WOLSELEY'S VANITY.

Let us see what the great victor of Tell-el-Kebir was doing all this time. The verbal message received from General Gordon on the 30th December had rendered his extreme danger painfully apparent, and the Secretary of State for War, acting on Lord Cromer's advice, offered to make an active demonstration from Suakin. To this proposal Lord Wolseley demurred but asked that ships of war should be sent to Suakin, and that—"marines and red-coats should be frequently landed and exercised!" The Duke of Devonshire naturally considered that such a foolish demonstration would be wholly ineffective, and suggested stronger measures. However on the 8th of January, less than three weeks before the fall of Khartum, Lord Wolseley repeated that "the measures you propose will not assist my operations against Khartum," and added that "I have from the first endeavoured to impress on Government that I am strong enough to relieve Khartum, and believe in being able to send a force, when returning by way of Berber, to Suakin to open the road and crush Osman Digna!" Let us recall that on this very day the small Desert Column started from Korti on its hazardous mission to the relief of a town fully 270 miles distant, held by a starving garrison, and invested by 30,000 fighting men, mostly armed with good rifles. Before reaching the Nile the Desert Column had lost 300 men and was unable to take Metemma, while its transport had completely broken down. On the 8th of February Lord Wolseley telegraphed "The sooner you can now deal with Osman Digna the better," and recommended the despatch of Indian troops to Suakin, to "co-operate with me in keeping the road to Berber open." On the 11th of February, the day on which Sir R. Buller most wisely decided to withdraw the Desert Column from a position of extreme danger, it was determined at Korti that the River Column should proceed to attack Berber, and Lord Wolseley accepted the proposal of the Government to make a railway from Suakin.

IX. ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS.

Every effort was now concentrated upon sending an expeditionary force to Suakin, and before the end of March about 13,000 men, including a brigade from India, with 7,000 camels and 1,000 mules, and a field battery from New South Wales, were then assembled and placed under the command of General Graham. He repeated his alarums and excursions of a year ago, and after reconnoitring as far as Hashin and, finding the country difficult, returned, advanced again, and finally returned once more to Suakin, all within a couple of days. A day or two later a force consisting of two British and three Indian battalions, with a naval brigade, a squadron of lancers, two companies of engineers, and a large convoy of camels carrying water and supplies under General McNeil started from Suakin for Tamai, but his advance was much impeded and the force halted at Tokik. It was assaulted by the enemy and was "caught partly unprepared." General Graham on hearing at Suakin the sound of firing started for Tokik with reinforcements, but returned "on being assured that reinforcements were not required." Early in April a force exceeding 7,000 men with 14 guns and 16,000 transport animals started from Suakin, bivouacked twelve hours later, and advanced again towards Tamai, and after burning a number of

huts in the Khor Chob returned to Suakin. From this lengthy and wearisome recital of petty events it must be clear to the reader that all these great forces that were marching forwards and backwards did nothing more than marking time.

X. THE RETREAT FROM THE SUDAN.

Meanwhile many communications had passed between the War Office and Lord Wolseley, who had first believed that Berber could be taken before the summer. In a long despatch of the 6th of March he discussed the general situation, and pointed out that although the force at his disposal was "amply sufficient" for raising the siege of Khartum and defeating the Mahdi, the conditions were changed—by the fall of the town! It was now impossible to undertake any offensive operations until about the end of summer, "when twelve additional British battalions, four strong squadrons of British cavalry and two R. H. A. batteries, together with a large extension of the Wadi Halfa Railway, eleven steamers, and three hundred more whale-boats, would be required. However, nothing was done any further because Lord Sydenham, from whom we have so copiously cited, writes that "on the 30th March Lord Wolseley quitted the army and proceeded to Cairo, and that "a cloud having arisen on the frontiers of Afghanistan, the withdrawal of the troops from the Sudan was ordered on the 11th of May. On the formation of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet the new Secretary of States for War, Mr. W. H. Smith, enquired whether the retirement could be averted; but General Buller reported that the difficulties of the occupation would be great, and that if Donga was to be held, a fresh expedition would be required. The withdrawal of the Suakin force began on the 16th of May. Osman Digna now turned his attention to Kassala, which capitulated in August, nearly at the same time as Sennar. Lord Sydenham's verdict is that "the failure of the operations in the Sudan had been absolute and complete."

XI. THE KHALIFA AND THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT.

On the 22nd of June, 1885, before the British rear-guard had left Dongola, the Mahdi died at Omdurman. But that brought no relief to the Egyptians to whom the Sudan was lost through British incompetence, nor did it bring any relief to the British themselves. The Mahdi, Mohamed Ahmed, was succeeded, by his principal Khalifa, Abdullah El Taisha, a Baggara Arab who for the next thirteen years ruled the Sudan with despotic power. As the British troops retired to Upper Egypt, his followers seized the evacuated country and the Khalifa cherished the idea, already formulated by the Mahdi, of the conquest of Egypt. Within a year the Egyptian frontier was drawn back by the British to Wadi Halfa, and its protection was now left in the hands of the Egyptian Army, a British force remaining at Assuan, two hundred miles to the north "as a reserve in case of emergency." Two years later even this was "deemed unnecessary."

The ambitions of the Khalifa with regard to "sweeping the British into the sea" were great enough, and Wad-en-Nejumi, the Amir who had defeated Hicks Pasha in Kordofan in 1883, and who had led the assault at Khartum when Gordon was slain in January, 1885, had replaced in October, 1886, Mohamed el Kheir, the Dervish Amir of Dongola as "Commander of the Force for the Conquest of Egypt." But the trouble in Darfur and with Abyssinia had induced the Khalifa to reduce the garrison of the north. In 1889, however, an invasion of the frontier on a large scale was attempted but General Grenfell gained an important victory in the battle of Toski in August, 1889, and no further serious attempts were made to disturb the frontier.

XII. THE KHALIFA VS. THE ABYSSINIANS AND THE ITALIANS.

But the Khalifa had not to contend with the British alone. In 1884 the British entered into arrangements with King John of Abyssinia for a relief of the beleaguered Egyptian garrisons which were carried out to some extent. On the 23rd of September,

1885, the Abyssinian General, Ras Alula, attacked Osman Digna at Kufit, in the Barea country, where he had entrenched himself with ten thousand men. He achieved a great victory, but instead of marching on to Kassala, Ras Alula, who at this time was much offended by the transfer of Massawwa by the Anglo-Egyptian Government to Italy, made a triumphant entry into Asmara, the hill-station near Massawwa and the head-quarters of the Italians in Eritrea, and absolutely refused to make any further efforts to extricate Egyptian garrisons from the grip of the Khalifa.

Lord Kitchener arranged in 1886 a combination of tribes to overthrow Osman Digna, and after the capture of his stronghold at Tamai there was comparative quiet for about a year. At the end of 1887 Osman Digna again advanced towards Suakin, but had to fall back on Handub. Lord Kitchener unsuccessfully endeavoured to capture him on the 17th January, 1888, but in the attack was himself severely wounded and was shortly afterwards invalided. Later in the year Osman Digna collected a large force and besieged Suakin. The arrival of the Sirdar with reinforcements from Cairo and his success in pushing the enemy back towards Handub kept the country fairly quiet for a time, but in January, 1891, Osman Digna showed signs of increased activity. In an action fought at Afafit Colonel Hotted Smith, the Governor of the Red Sea Littoral, drove Osman Digna back to Temrin with considerable loss, and it was this which finally checked him in the neighbourhood of Suakin. In the spring of 1891 England entered into an agreement with Italy by which the Italian forces in Eritrea were at liberty, if they were able, to capture and occupy Kassala, close to the western boundary of the new colony on condition that they restored it to Egypt when required to do so. Three years passed before they availed themselves of this agreement. In July 1894, Italians surprised and captured Kassala and continued to hold it for three years and a half.

These were not the only enemies with whom the Derwishes of the Sudan had to contend. They were not left quiet on their Abyssinian frontier. For sometime no decisive action was fought; but in August, 1887, the Derwishes attacked the Abyssinian General, defeated his forces and marched on Gondar, the ancient capital of Abyssinia, which was sacked. King John, the Negus, burning to avenge this defeat, won a victory in March, 1889; but before it could be complete, a stray bullet killed him. When his army was retiring a party of Arabs pursued the rear-guard, which consisted of his body-guard, routed them, and capturing his body, sent it to the Khalifa to Omdurman. From this time, however, the Derwishes ceased to trouble the Abyssinians.

XIII. KORDOFAN, DARFUR AND THE EQUATORIAL PROVINCES

Trouble had arisen for the Khalifa in Darfur through its Amir who had allied himself with another ruler, but the Amir of Kordofan and the Amir of Belu el-Gazal defeated the Darfurians, and in 1888 became complete masters of the situation, the two Sultans being killed. The Darfurian chiefs then allied themselves with Abu Gemaza, Shiekh of the Manalit Arab, who had proclaimed himself "Khalifa Osman," and was known as the Anti-Mahdi. The revolt assumed large proportions, and the Anti-Mahdi gained much success but early in 1889 his army was defeated, and when he died himself of small-pox the movement collapsed. In 1891 Darfur and Kordofan were again disturbed, and also two years later, but the revolt on each occasion died out. In the Equatorial Provinces Emin Bey, with 1,300 Egyptian troops and 3,000 irregulars, distributed among many stations, had held out hoping for reinforcements before news reached them of the fall of Khartum. The story of Emin Bey and his forces, who could only receive occasional despatches from Cairo via Zanzibar telling them what had occurred during the preceding several years, and their determination "to hold together as long as possible the remnant of ten years," the relief expedition sent under H. M. Stanley by way of the Congo; its incredible dangers and sufferings; the meeting with Emin Bey and the Italian Casati; the decision of the southern garrisons to accompany Emin and the mutiny of the other troops who made him

want to be stabbed in the back while facing the enemy of this country."

This at least suggests that the intrigue was not altogether unconnected with "the enemy of the country." And the following extract from the cable of the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent gives rise to the suspicion that he "protests too much" British neutrality to be entirely believed. In fact, the minatory ending of his comment is very significant. He wrote:—

"The matter is one in which the British authorities will naturally preserve a strictly neutral attitude since it is a domestic one for Egypt. As a matter of fact we have also little advantage to expect from the victory of either political group, although, of course, were anarchy to be threatened, we might be compelled to protect British and foreign interests. But the ex-Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, might be prompted to push once more his ambitions and sinister designs were the Egyptian crisis to be unduly protracted.

• THE INDICATION OF THE COMING TRAGEDY.

IN all this, however, there was no indication that something far more "dramatic" than the Ministerial crisis, the "tragedy" of the outrage and its still more outrageous consequences, would succeed it. Whatever indication there was of this tragedy, was to be found in the cable announcing the savage sentences passed on the "civilian cadets" of the Sudan who had been arrested for demonstrating against British policy. This cable stated that "the remainder of the civilian cadets arrested following the demonstration on August, 9 numbering twenty-eight, have now been tried by the Mufti's court and sentenced each to eight years' imprisonment. The sentences are not yet confirmed by the Governor-General, but I do not anticipate remission. When the sentences were promulgated, trouble was anticipated, and police, troops &c., stood by, while aeroplanes demonstrated over the city, but the 'White Flag' members made no demonstration.

On this the comment of the *Morning Post* was characteristic. In the course of a leading article entitled "Manœuvres" published in its issue of the 17th November, it wrote:—

"We turn with relief from those and intrigues to the brighter prospect which is now opening out in the Sudan. British authority has at last exerted itself, and the heavy sentences imposed on the cadets who took part in the demonstrations of last August may be taken as evidence of a determination to crush those conspiracies for reducing the Sudan once again to chaos. It is high time that this country should realise that it holds its authority in the East not by granting Parliaments, as kind-hearted folk distribute toys, not by the brutal exercise of naked force, but by that magic and indefinable quality—prestige. In recent years, our prestige has been declining in the East, with results costly to our Exchequer and ruinous to the wretched peoples bereft of our guiding hand. The great traditions of British rule have once again to be revived. When they are again in force, neither England nor Egypt need worry very much about the manœuvres of discredited politicians."

Whether we call it "the brutal exercise of naked force," or "that magic and indefinable quality—prestige," the result has been only one. British terrorism has led to terroristic retaliation, and Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul against whose own life an attempt was recently made is the one man who has in the end suffered most. His triumph was complete when he withdrew his resignation at the request of the King who could find none to replace him. Fate, in the form of the British Army of Occupation and the British High Commissioner, has avenged the King and those who had placed him on the throne and the very man who as President of Senate had sought audience with the King in order to persuade His Majesty not to accept the resignation of Zaghlul the Indispensable, has now pushed him off the stool and taken his place as Premier of Egypt—"by the grace of Great Britain."



THE temporal power of Islam has been reduced to the very lowest limits by the wars which were forced upon Turkey ever since *The Comrade* came into existence, and although she has with great difficulty emerged from the last war less bruised and battered after the Treaty of Lausanne than she was left by the Treaty of Sevres, she refuses to accept responsibility for the Khilafat, which is the polity of Islam, and thereby weakens Islam's temporal power.

Nevertheless, so relentless are the enemies of Islam that they have not yet ceased from creating prejudices against all Muslim workers. The following paragraph has been contributed to the *Daily Telegraph* by its diplomatic correspondent and shows how sedulously European Powers are being invited to combine against Islam even to day:—"In view of the League Council's responsibility and of the arbitral position which the Powers represented on that body occupy in regard to the Mosul dispute, the attention of the League might well be drawn to the large consignments of war material (including aeroplanes, armoured cars and guns, as well as munitions) that are constantly reaching Turkey from firms in Western Europe. I gather that in Italian circles a good deal of concern is felt about the mission of the Sheikh Ahmed-es-Senussi to the Sultan of Nejd, Ibn Saud, a mission connected with the future of the Khilafat. From information which has reached Rome, there is no doubt whatever that the Sheikh Ahmed is acting on this, as on other occasion, as the agent of Angora, and that his activities are no more friendly towards Italy than towards this country. During the war he was a keen pro-German and a resolute enemy of the Allies in general, and of Italy in particular. It is a pity that he should have been granted special facilities for visiting the mandated areas in the Middle as well as Arabia proper." Now, Sheikh Ahmed-es-Senussi has no politics except Islam, and we only wish we could credit Angora with being the principal of so religious an agent. But English journalists know only this much of the East that they jumble up a lot of names and mix up everyone and everything in order to frighten Europe, or, rather, to provide it with some excuse for combining against the East. The Senussi Sheikh, the "Wahabis," the Khilafat and the anti-Khilafatists of Angora, the Zaghlulists and the Sudanese, and, of course, the Germans and the Soviet, all are grist that come to the mill. We wonder why the diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* has not yet implicated, in a plot against all Europe, in addition to those who have been mentioned, His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan, the Ali Brothers, and, last but not the least, Deshbandhu Das and the Swarajists!

THE few partisans of the Shareef of Mecca in India who would create prejudice in this country against the Sultan of Nejd and his forces by calling them "Wahabis" can never hope to succeed, because the family of which they espouse the cause has proved itself to be so thoroughly disgusting in speech as well as in action that we can see no course that can safely be adopted with regard to the Hejaz except their complete disassociation from its Government. Even in his last cable to the Central Khilafat Committee, Ali welcomes the Khilafat Delegation to Hejaz by pretending to hope that it will prevent bloodshed in the Holy Land and make peace therein. Now the same moderation was claimed by Ali when he evacuated Mecca and retired to Jeddah. But the fact is that he did not evacuate Mecca until he found that by further delay he would find himself completely entrapped on account of the dispositions of the Nejd forces made by their commanders. The credit of prevention of bloodshed therefore lies rather with these commanders and their dispositions than with the peaceful disposition of Ameer Ali. His recent cable is once more based on untruth vainly mistaken by him for cunning and cleverness. Less than a month ago he made every preparation for a fight to regain Mecca. The *Morning Post* and *Daily News* correspondents wired from Cairo on the 13th November that Ali was reported to have received aid from Europe in the form of aeroplanes, tanks and ammunition, and that his father was said to be recruiting men among the tribes near Aqaba. Trenches were also being dug round Jeddah. Reuter wired on the same day from Jerusalem that, according to definite news received in Amman from the Hejaz, Ali had taken the offensive, and the Hashimite army was advancing on Mecca. The Wahabis, it was added, were now on the defensive and were evacuating the position they had occupied between Jeddah and Mecca. But the same day the correspondent of the *Daily News* wired from Cairo that Hashimite forces, which had advanced from Jeddah with the object of recapturing Mecca, had been severely defeated. Ali had himself declared about that time in a telegram to the Sultan of Nejd his readiness for war and his capacity to eject the Nejd troops from Mecca if the Nejd Government rejected peace, and the latter Government had replied that it was the conduct of King Hussain and his supporters towards Nejd which had resulted in the recent troubles, and that it was necessary to deliver the Hejaz from Hussain's son. The Nejd Government had added that the decision of the Muslim world was awaited with regard to the Holy Places. "This," it had truly said, "is the only way to prevent bloodshed," and had concluded by warning that the responsibility for what might happen would rest with Ali. Beaten once more, Ameer Ali still talks as if he was holding his hand merely because he would not shed Muslim blood in the Holy Land of Islam. Having tried to wrest Mecca by dint of force from the Ameer of Nejd, who is holding it on behalf of the Musalmans of the world, and having failed ignominiously, he now hopes to wrest it from him by negotiations carried on through the Indian Khilafat Delegation. This is a vain hope. Curiously enough even now that he can do nothing himself and is allowed to remain in Jeddah mainly because of the British, he does not say a word about the Hejaz being the heritage of Islam, and not the estate of his family. How long he would be allowed to remain in Jeddah is still uncertain. About a month ago it was reported by the *Morning Post* and the *Daily News* correspondents in Cairo that

Ibn-i-Sa'ud was strengthening his forces in the Hejaz and intended to make a bid for Medina.



IT appears from the Mail papers received this week that the new party created by Rauf Bey and others who formerly belonged to the People's Party of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha is so far progressing favourably. The letters of resignation received from the seceders show that they claim "greater freedom to consolidate the republican regime." This is the claim of Rauf Bey and Adnan Bey. Others justify their cessation by saying that the formation of different parties is the distinctive mark of republicanism. Rajab Bey the Minister of the Interior, reproaches Rauf Bey, with still having sympathy for the Sultanat and the Khilafat. But Rauf Bey and the other leaders of the recently-formed party have declared that their sympathies are the same now as when they were members of the People's Party. The People's Party has now taken the name of the People's Republican Party, while the new party calls itself "Republican Progressists." It is gaining recruits. More than a score of members of the People's Party are now said to have resigned, and it is thought that others who are at present hesitating will soon follow. It will not include "the reactionary Khojas ('Hojas' as the Turks pronounce, and 'Hodjas' as they spell the word which signifies *Ulama* and students of Divinity) who have also revolted against the Government party, and who will probably create a clerical group preaching the restoration of the Khilafat and religious education." The Republican Progressists in their programme refer to "the threat of despotism" for which they claim that the best cure is the formation of free parties. The main planks in their platform are direct elections, decentralisation and social progress. They start with small numbers, as we have already indicated, but their party includes some of the most enlightened politicians in the country. Naturally tempers are not just now of the very best. On the 11th November the Assembly voted another advance of a million Turkish pounds on the Deputies' salaries. Last year's increase to £T40 per month is to be maintained. The present credit should have ordinarily become effective only next March. Mukhtar Bey, the Deputy for Trebizond, drew attention to the country's financial difficulties and asked why Government functionaries were unpaid while Deputies buttered their own bread. He protested that the vote would give a bad impression to the country. He was howled down, and after making some observations found himself unable to continue his speech owing to interruptions by the majority in favour of the advance credit. Angora messages report the degeneration of debates, and it is stated that even Ministers threatened their opponents in such phrases as "I'll smash your head in." To the telegram from its Constantinople correspondent containing this piece of news, an English newspaper, forgetting the rowdy scenes that have been witnessed in "the Mother of Parliaments," gives the heading "Front-Bench Manner in Turkey." Fethi Bey came back from Brussels, where he had gone to attend the meeting of the League of Nations which discussed the "Mosul Muddle." On accepting the Presidency of the National Assembly for the third time he made a speech in which, referring no doubt to such evidences of temper, he made what the Constantinople correspondent of the *Morning Post* calls "a remarkable appeal for fair play for the Opposition." He said: "I shall use all the privileges of the Presidential Chair to ensure absolute

liberty of discussion. I beg you to listen without quarrelsomeness to the different opinions expressed in this Assembly, and to answer them calmly. Comrades' ideas should be answered by ideas. It is regrettable to see bad temper and violence interfere in the legitimate conflict of ideas." This is as it should be, for the gagging of Opposition is only likely to increase its numbers and add to the bitterness of controversy. As it is six more Deputies, including Mukhtar Bey who was shouted down have resigned and gone over to the new party.



WHILE the fever of politics has had considerable effect on the temper of the politicians, the deadly fevers of Angora, which are said to be well-known, have claimed victims in the protagonists of the two rival parties. Ismet

Pasha has been ordered absolute rest by his doctors, and it was reported that he intended to retire from politics and was considering the question of tendering his resignation. We know he has since resigned and gone to Europe for a cure, but the Secretariat of the People's Party denied at the time that he was likely to retire from politics. It stated that if he was to go to Europe for a cure an acting Premier would be appointed pending his return. Raul Pasha is the latest victim of fever, and on the 13th November his condition was stated to be grave. Doctor Adnan Bey who was treating him had diagnosed his illness as typhus, and was taking Raul Bey to Constantinople the same day. Curiously enough it was stated that Raul Bey had refused to allow the doctors to examine his blood.



ANOTHER item of news of considerable interest was that the President of the Republic, Mustafa Kamal Pasha accompanied by his wife, Latifa Khanum and the Premier, Ismet Pasha,

were to leave for France shortly in a French battleship. It was said that they were to make a stay in the south of France where a military and a naval review was to be held in honour of the President of the Turkish Republic. It was stated that the visit had been arranged by General Mougin, the special representative of France at Angora. Great political importance was said to be attached to the event in Constantinople. But the same issue of the *Daily Express* which published this message from its Constantinople correspondent, published another sent from Paris the same day, stating that an official of the French Foreign Office had informed the correspondent that the Department had no knowledge of Mustafa Kamal Pasha's visit, though this message also confirmed the impression that General Mougin, the distinguished French officer who is believed to be the French "specialist" in Eastern, Muslim and particularly Turkish affairs, and who had more than once met the Indian Khilafat Delegation in Paris, had effected a great improvement in Franco-Turkish relations since his arrival in Angora. It will be recalled that this was the officer who was stated to have told the Turks that if he had been a Turk he would have certainly claimed Mosul. The French Foreign Office, of course, denied the authenticity of this statement. In view of the latest telegram which announces that the British and the French Premiers have concurred in some matters the very first of which relates to Turkey, with regard to which it has been decided that both countries should be represented by an ambassador residing at Constantinople, it is not certain how far M. Herriot's Government will maintain the specially cordial relations with the Turks which Mr. Franklin Bouillon had initiated in 1921, and which General Mougin has strengthened.



The Comrade.

The British in the Sudan.

IN our issue of November 28, we discussed the situation in Egypt consequent on the murder of Sir Lee Stack and the revenge sought by Britain. In the course of our leading article we showed how the Sudan had been conquered by Mohamed Ali Pasha for Egypt 60 years before the British Occupation; how it had been lost to Egypt through the defeats sustained by British military officers and the vacillation of the British Government which was unwilling to supply men and money for the protection of Egypt's southern dominion; how on the recovery of Egyptian finances and the re-formation of the Egyptian army Lord Salisbury's Government at last undertook to reconquer it with Lord Kitchener at the head of that army, mainly through Egyptian men and money; how the Condominium was established in 1899 over re-conquered Sudan which now become "Anglo-Egyptian;" how the Egyptian Treasury continued year after year to bear the deficit of Sudan Budget until it finally resolved that that Budget should balance itself; and how when the Sudan is now a paying concern and the Upper Nile is dammed and controlled and it can equal if not surpass Egypt in the extent and quality of its cotton, Great Britain wants to act as "the predominant party in its control" and in fact to reduce the Condominium to a British Dominion, of course, without the "Dominion Status."

This week we return to the question of the Sudan and desire to furnish our readers with the requisite details of its history during the last forty years or thereabouts to enable our readers to understand the real situation. In doing so we shall keep as close as we can to the facts admitted by British authorities and shall often adopt their own words so that we may not be accused of furnishing our readers with false history.

II. THE "KURBASH" OF CROMER.

The very first act of Great Britain after the Battle of Tell-el-Kebir, which took place on the 12th-13th September, 1882, was the disbanding of the Egyptian Army by a decree forced on the Khedive on 19th September. In December of the same year the organisation of a new army was entrusted to a British general officer who was given the title of Sirdar. This army was, of course, different from the British Army of Occupation which was commanded by another British General, and to meet the cost of which the Egyptian Government contributed £150,000 annually, Lord Dufferin, then British Ambassador at Constantinople, who had been sent to Egypt to adjust affairs and report on the situation, passed in review all the departments of the administration and laid down the general lines on which the country was to be administered, and Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, who was appointed Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent in succession to Sir Edward Malet at the end of 1883, undertook the task of putting these general indications into practical shape. The only sanction for his autocratic control of Egypt was the British Army of Occupation and the "auxiliary" which it had in the shape of the so-called Egyptian Army commanded by the British Sirdar. His panegyrists justify the methods he adopted by referring to an old story said to have been long current in Cairo. Mohamed Ali Pasha was said to have appointed as *Mudir* or Governor in a turbulent district a young and inexperienced Turk, who asked, "But how am I to govern those people?" "Listen," replied the Pasha, "buy the biggest and the heaviest *Kurbash* you can find; hang it up in the centre of the *Mudirieth*, well within your reach, and you will very seldom require to use it." Whether Mohamad Ali Pasha did or did not believe in the "frightfulness" suggested by the story, the British admittedly relied upon it for the continuance of their unlawful occupation of

the country. "The British Army of Occupation," writes Mr. Frank R. Cane, "was Lord Cromer's *Kurbash*, and it was well within his reach, as all the world knew, and its simple presence sufficed to prevent disorder and enforced obedience." We know how Egyptian liberties were destroyed through "the simple presence" of his *Kurbash*, and how such a humiliation as that of Denshawah had to be borne by the Egyptians. But when this *Kurbash* was wanted, not to crush the liberties of the civil population of Egypt, but to fight the enemy in the field, it was not available.

III. "LIMITED LIABILITY".

It is admitted that "of the numerous questions awaiting solution, the first to claim immediate attention was that of [Sudan];" but that "the British Government began by excluding it from the problem, and by declaring that for events in these outlying territories it must not be held responsible. In that sphere of activity, therefore, the Egyptian Government might do as it thought fit. The principle of limited liability which this attitude assumed was soon found to be utterly untenable." We need not emphasise the already sufficiently marked contrast between this principle of "limited liability" and the effort of the British Government to-day to make of the Sudan an "unlimited asset" of Great Britain. The Sudan was an integral part of the Khedive's dominions and caused even in ordinary times a deficit of £200,000 to the Egyptian treasury. At the moment it was in a state of open rebellion. Mohamed Ahmed, known as the Mahdi, had already in August 1881 destroyed a small Egyptian force sent to arrest him, so that at the time when the Egyptian Army was broken up at Tell-el-Kebir, the Sudan was already in flames. On the 7th of June 1882, six thousand men under Yusuf Pasha advancing from Fashoda were nearly annihilated by the followers of the Mahdi. Payara and Birket in Kordofan, the western part of Sudan, quickly fell, and a few days before the battle of Tell-el-Kebir was fought, the Mahdi, with a large force, was besieging El-Obeid. That town was captured on the 17th January 1883, by which time almost the whole of Sudan south of Khartum was in open rebellion, and the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Equatorial Provinces, that is the southernmost parts of Sudan where Lupton Bey and Emin Pasha were in command were hard pressed. Colonel William Hicks, late of the Bombay Army, had been appointed in January, 1883, Chief of the Staff of the Army of Sudan, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief six months later. The re-conquest of the Sudan having been determined upon, although Sir Edward Malet reported that the Egyptian Government could not supply the necessary funds, he started from Khartum on 9th September with a total force of 10,000 men, including non-combatants, for Kordofan. Sir Edward Malet had already informed the Egyptian Government that the British Government was in no way responsible for his operations in the Sudan and Hicks Pasha himself had already expressed his conviction that "it would be best to keep the two rivers and the province of Senaar, and wait for Kordofan to settle itself." Early in November his force from Khartum was caught by the Mahdists short of water at Kaahgil near El-Obeid and was almost totally destroyed, Colonel Hicks with all his European officers perishing. It was about this time that Lord Cromer, who had succeeded Sir Edward Malet, had telegraphed to London that "if Colonel Hicks's army is destroyed, the Egyptian Government would lose the whole of the Sudan unless some assistance from the outside is given." But, as we stated in our previous article on the subject, Lord Granville replied that "We cannot lend English or Indian troops; I consulted recommend abandonment of the Sudan within certain limits," and soon after added that "Her Majesty's Government can do nothing in the matter which would throw upon them the responsibilities for operations in the Sudan." Then Lord Cromer himself "forcibly argued against British intervention in the affairs of the Sudan," and before the year ended Lord Granville had telegraphed that "Her Majesty's Government recommend the Ministers of the Khedive to come to an early decision to abandon territory south of Assuan, or, at least, of Wadi Halfa." So the new year began with instructions to Lord Cromer "to insist upon the

policy of evacuation" and on the 18th January, 1884, General Gordon left Sudan to assist in its execution.

IV. GORDON'S MISSION: PEACE OR WAR?

We shall eschew all discussion with regard to the instructions that General Gordon had received because that is a subject of controversy, and shall content ourselves with saying that one so thoroughly conversant with the affairs of Egypt and the Sudan as Wilfred Scawen Blunt came to the conclusion that General Gordon had not been sent entirely on a mission of peace. He had suspected that there was in Gordon's mission a political intrigue connected with the continued occupation of Egypt; but he had believed at the time that Gordon was himself through his soldiers' obstinacy mainly responsible for the failure of his mission, and that he had, as was being pretended by British Ministers, exceeded his instructions, wantonly changing the character of his mission from a peaceful one to one of war. But the publication of Lord Cromer's book, with its exaggerated attack on these very heads, roused the suspicion of Blunt and caused him to re-examine the evidence connected with the whole matter. He speedily discovered that, though Gordon made without doubt many mistakes in its discharge, the prime responsibility of war was certainly not his but that of those who had sent him, and that in spite of Lord Cromer's denial, the failure of the mission was principally due to no other than Lord Cromer himself.

V. REPEATED REVERSES AND INTERVENTION.

Before Gordon's own death at Khartum, which fell on the 26th of January, 1885, other disasters had overtaken the Egyptian forces under British officers in the Sudan. In Bahr-el-Ghazal, in September, 1883, Lupton Bey's captain was massacred with his men, and Lupton himself was compelled to surrender on the 21st April, 1884, to Karamallah, Dervish the Amir of the province, and died at Omdurman four years later. Slatin Bey, who was the Governor of Darfur and Kordofan, and had fought no less than twenty seven actions in various parts of his province, was deserted by his troops, who became followers of Mahdi, and surrendered at Dara in December, 1883, remaining a prisoner until he escaped in 1895. On the 4th of February, 1884, General Baker's force was routed at El Teb by an inferior body of tribesmen, and of 3,715 men, 2,375, with 11 European officers, were killed. With several expeditions led by British officers thus ending in disaster, the policy of British non-intervention in regard to Sudan affairs could no longer be maintained. Public opinion in England was strongly impressed by the fact that the Egyptian garrisons of Tokar and Sinkat were perishing within striking distance of the Red Sea littoral. A British force about 4,400 strong, with 22 guns, made of troops from Egypt and from units detained on passage from India, was rapidly concentrated at Suakin and placed under General Graham, with Generals Buller and Davis as Brigadiers. But the starving garrison of Sinkat under Tewfik Bey made a gallant sortie and was cut to pieces, and Tokar also surrendered before General Graham's force had disembarked at Trinkitat. This force was engaged for about a month in a couple of indecisive actions with the followers of Osman Digna, a slave-dealer of Suakin who had been appointed by the Mahdi Amir of Eastern Sudan, but on the 28th March it was re-assembled at Suakin, and then broken up.

VI. A DOOMED GARRISON.

The abrupt disappearance of the British troops naturally encouraged Osman Digna's tribesmen. Even if the fall of Tokar and of Sinkat can be said to have been counterbalanced by the alarms and excursions of General Graham's troops and such punishment as they were able to inflict on the tribesmen, they afforded no aid to General Gordon, whose position at Khartum grew gradually worse. Poor Gordon was compelled to suggest "an appeal to the millionaires of America and England" to subscribe money for the cost of "two thousand or three thousand nizams"—the Regulars of Egypt, Suzerain Power, Turkey, whom Great Britain had so coolly brushed aside—to be sent to Berbar. "A cloud now settled down upon Khartum, and subsequent communications were few and irregular. The Foreign Office and General Gordon appeared

situation is itself nothing but a *modus vivendi*. The requirements of to-day, Egyptian opinion argues, impose on Egypt continual political intercourse with the British Government, and 'it is necessary to avoid daily incidents.' Daily incidents, however, are not in the least desired by British officials, and it should therefore be quite easy to avoid them.

"As to the Egyptian Army, it is even now engaged in helping to protect the Canal, but it is wholly premature to speak of its taking over the sole responsibility for that task. A more urgent and more desirable change would be that the Egyptian and Sudanese military commands should be entirely separated. The change would not, of course, be accomplished without a proper adjustment of financial commitments and adequate safeguards for the Nile water. In the White Paper issued after the failure to negotiate last month, Mr. MacDonald admitted the justice of some Egyptian claims in these respects, but he also pointed out that what made the present situation difficult was simply the fact that Egyptian civil and military officers serving in the Sudan were conspiring against their own colleagues. Many Egyptian officials in the Sudan have come to regard themselves as propagandists of Egyptian Nationalist views. If their presence in the Sudan continues to be a danger to public order it will become necessary to take steps to have them removed. Cordial co-operation prevailed in the Sudan in the past. If it prevails no longer, Cairo and not London must bear the responsibility. No negotiated *modus vivendi* is necessary, but a change of spirit. Where good-will prevails co-operation is easy. Without good-will friction cannot but increase. To this regrettable prospect there is one plain alternative. A treaty of close alliance, framed and executed in a spirit of mutual confidence, offers a way out of the difficulties that beset Egypt and Great Britain alike, and the door is still ajar."

This then is the end of all the "moderation" and "co-operation" of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul. With King Fuad acting the part of Sultan Mohamed Wahed ud-deen and Ziwar Pasha as the Damad Fareed Pasha of Egypt the Treaty of Sevres which the *Times* wants is no doubt being negotiated to-day and will soon be signed. Whether history will repeat itself, and Lausanne will be substituted for Sevres remains yet to be seen.

ZAGHLUL'S RESIGNATION AND ITS WITHDRAWAL

WE have already given in full the report of the opening of the Egyptian Parliament sent to the *Daily Chronicle*, by Mr. Renwick its correspondent at Cairo, which makes it clear that at any rate it was not Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul or his Government who were planning or encouraging the murder of Sir Lee Stack or even contemplating any diplomatic struggle during the new session. The *Daily Chronicle* was so impressed with the peacefulness of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul that he gave to this report the double column heading of "Egyptian Premier's Changed Mind," and followed this by the sub-heading of "Let's say about Great Britain and Sudan Independence," and added by way of preface that "Our Special Correspondent, Mr. Renwick, is convinced that Zaghlul Pasha will now seek to put the Sudan and Anglo-Egyptian problems into the background, and to turn the attention of Parliament rather to his heavy programme of domestic affairs."

But even more remarkable than this indication of the late Egyptian Premier's mind was the incident of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul's resignation and its withdrawal which was the only crisis that disturbed the placid surface of Egypt before the storm broke on the murder of Sir Lee Stack only a couple of days after the resumption of the administration of Egypt by the Zaghlulists.

On Saturday, the 15th November, Zaghlul Pasha's resignation came with dramatic suddenness, and at first the news was hardly credited, as there had been no inkling of a Ministerial crisis. Numerous deputies only learned the news on arriving at Parliament House, where they stood in the lobbies animatedly discussing the unexpected turn of events. A large crowd had assembled outside Zaghlul's house and the Parliament loudly

demonstrating and shouting "Long live the Leader of the Nation," "Long live Revolution," "Long live Prison." Zaghlul Pasha left his house at five o'clock to attend Parliament, which was anxiously awaiting his declaration. Large and excited crowds impeded the progress of the Premier's car, and the police were obliged to use their sticks freely to enable the car to approach the Chamber. The Premier entered the Parliament House, together with his Ministers, where he received a great ovation from the majority of the assembled deputies. But the Opposition remained seated and silent. Zaghlul Pasha only delivered a short address, stating at once that he had informed the King at 12-30 that day that he was too tired to continue in office, and that he must tender his resignation. The Premier added that he hoped he would be happier in his new life as a mere member of Parliament, and with a wave of his arms left the Chamber accompanied by his Ministers. The report of English newspaper correspondents at Cairo agree that Zaghlul Pasha certainly looked fatigued, but the expression on his face indicated that something other than health reasons was behind his sudden determination to relinquish the reins of office. The general impression in well informed quarters was that the Premier's resignation was due to acute political issues, which have developed unexpectedly.

The House received the Premier's statement calmly enough. The members seemed stunned at the unforeseen crisis, and some slight confusion followed the Cabinet's exit. Above the din of voices could be heard the cheers of the crowds outside as Zaghlul Pasha drove away, while from the terrace of the Chamber a mass of humanity could be seen sweeping along the street after the Premier's car, till the front of Parliament House became well-nigh deserted save for the mounted and foot police, who by this time outnumbered the crowd itself. After leaving the Chamber, Zaghlul Pasha and his Ministers repaired to the Senate, where the Premier made a similar announcement. Subsequently the Deputies by an overwhelming majority passed a vote of confidence in Zaghlul's favour. The Senators followed suit and reaffirmed their confidence in him. They even went in a body to the Palace and signed the book in order to show that they were unanimous in trusting the Zaghlul Ministry. The President and two Vice Presidents of the Senate asked for an audience of the King so that they might beg his Majesty not to accept the Cabinet's resignation. Next morning, on Sunday, the 16th November, demonstrations took a serious turn. The agitated students of the city did not attend schools. Many went the round of the Ministries and Government offices inducing employers to leave work and come out on strike. They were particularly successful with the men of the Ministry of Finance, which is significant, considering that it was the resignation of the Finance Minister, as we shall presently show, that had apparently precipitated Zaghlul's own resignation. The employees at the Ministry of Education assembled in the courtyard of the Ministry, where political speeches were made, urging that a deputation should proceed to the Palace and beg the King not to accept the Premier's resignation. Other Government departments also struck work. The streets were filled with groups of students cheering Zaghlul. Some Zaghlulist enthusiasts wrecked and burned down the office of the newspaper *Al Kashkoul* which had caricatured Zaghlul. The private residence of the proprietor of the paper met with the same fate, and the Editor of the paper was severely handled.

In the earlier part of the day the King granted an interview to the Senatorial deputation, and told them that he had already refused to accept Zaghlul Pasha's resignation, and that when he would see him in the afternoon that day he would insist on Zaghlul's remaining in office.

A prolonged meeting of the Wafd Party was held the same day at Zaghlul's house to consider the situation at which Zaghlul attended to make a statement. The Premier declared that he placed himself in their hands and gave them full liberty to decide what was best in the interests of the country. Thereupon he withdrew

from the meeting with his colleagues. The following resolution was then adopted by the meeting:—

"That the Wafd parliamentary group after declarations by Zaghlul explaining the situation leading to the resignation of the Ministry, and discussions by its members, expresses unanimous confidence in Zaghlul, leaving him to take measures dictated by his wisdom to protect the rights of Egypt and safeguard the Constitution from any attempts against it."

This succeeded in bringing the crisis to an end. The King granted audience to Zaghlul in the afternoon, after which he announced that all his conditions were accepted by the King, and then issued the following Official Communique:—"I have had the honour of reception by His Majesty, the audience lasting nearly two hours. It was agreed that Parliament's decision should be respected in all its clauses by his Majesty, its protector and, by me, its servant, I resume my charge, with God's aid, conforming to the dispositions of the Constitution."

Popular feeling was indicated by the cries of the crowd: "Revolution unless Sa'd be in power," and when it was announced that the resignation had been withdrawn, jubilation was very great. Nevertheless, the Opposition characterised the whole affair as a trumped-up farce and a political manoeuvre for Zaghlul Pasha's own glorification.

Parliament was in the best of humours when it resumed on the evening of the 17th November. Ahmed Pasha Mazlum was re-elected President of the Chamber of Deputies by an overwhelming majority, and after that Zaghlul Pasha addressed the House and said that yesterday he had had an audience of the King, who agreed with the nation and Parliament in having confidence in the Cabinet, and could not therefore accept his resignation. His Majesty had then very kindly made a declaration which had greatly alleviated his troubles of office and his responsibilities. The King remained the faithful guardian of the Constitution, as he (Zaghlul Pasha) was its servant. He had therefore no alternative but to withdraw his resignation and return to his duties. He prayed Allah to assist them all to obtain complete independence. Zaghlul Pasha then proceeded to the Senate, when he made a similar announcement.

CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

As regards the causes of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlul's resignation, nothing can be said with any degree of certainty. It is true that it was followed immediately after the resignation of Taufiq Pasha Nassim, the Minister of Finance, who has been significantly praised by the Cairo correspondents of British newspapers as a "conservative and cautious statesman" and "one of the chief guarantees of a sane and stable policy." He had resigned four times before, but now he insisted on the acceptance of his resignation. It is true he had trouble with his eyes and on retiring to Helwan he told the *Times* correspondent that "the sole reason for his resignation was that he was thoroughly tired." But many correspondents of English newspapers suggested that this resignation was due to his disapproval of the appointment to a post in the Ministry of Agriculture of Madame Zaghlul's nephew. These correspondents, however, absolve Sa'd Pasha himself of all nepotism, but lay the same charge against other members of his party.

They also suggest that it was the failure of the conversation he had with the Labour Premier in London that had increased discontent against him. The Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote that "the failure of Zaghlul Pasha, during his recent visit to London, to obtain from the British Government any of the important concessions which he had been imprudent enough not only to claim but to boast of as assured beforehand naturally provided his political opponents, whether avowed or secret, with a powerful weapon against him. And the oligarchy of the ex-Turkish Pashas and Bureaucrats was the more certain to redouble its efforts against "the Arab" Premier from the moment when his foreign policy having come to grief, it could be assumed that he would seek to maintain his popularity by democratic or

demagogic reform in the domestic domain. Moreover, during his absence from Egypt his enemies and some of his professed friends within the rank of the Ministry itself had been busy undermining his authority and prestige by irritating administrative blunders, voluntary and involuntary."

But perhaps the real causes of the resignation can be judged best from the immediate result of its withdrawal, which was the dismissal of the sub-Director of the Royal Cabinet.

Speaking in the meeting of the Wafd party, Sa'd Pasha had indicated that it was not only "fatigue," but also "intrigues" that had induced him to resign. But who it was that was intriguing against him was not clear. According to the *Times* correspondent, he had "declared they were due to neither of the two Opposition parties nor to the British, but to another strong source which was clearly understood to be, and in the circumstances could only be, the Palace. When asked whether the King was responsible, Zaghlul Pasha raised his hands in horror. It must therefore have been some subordinate person, as indeed is currently stated even by Government organs."

The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote that "to strengthen his position against the pashas, Zaghlul had come to depend ever more and more upon the favour and support of the Crown. But one of King Fuad's most influential advisers—in fact, the real power behind the throne—was a high personage in the Ministry of Pious Foundations, a bitter although disguised foe of Zaghlul. Now this determined intriguer, it may be interesting to record had gained the confidence of his Monarch very much after the manner in which, under the old Turkish regime, Izzet gained that of the Sultan Abdul Hamid—namely, by constantly warning the King against alleged and purely imaginary plots against his life. Thus the intrigues against Zaghlul, part of which had consisted in inducing the King to sanction unpopular measures, appointments, and dismissals in the name of Zaghlul's Cabinet has been found to extend to Zaghlul's lieutenants and subordinates."

This "determined intriguer," seems according to the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, to be Hassan Pasha Nashat, who is given by him the designation of the "Director of King Fuad's Cabinet." We are told that "Nashat has had a stormy career, and this is the second time that he has been dismissed from an identical position. On the last occasion he was sent on extended 'leave' to Europe, and on his return to Egypt he was at first prohibited from landing. After his restoration to favour he became for a time Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Waqfs, and was restored to his position at the Palace on Zaghlul's appointment as Premier. He was credited with great influence with the King, and it has been rumoured that it was on his advice that Fuad advanced two years ago his claim to the Sudan."

But apart from the intriguer, we should naturally like to know on what question the ex-Premier differed so greatly with the King. With regard to it, Lady Drummond Hay, the Special Correspondent of the *Daily Express*, wrote:—

"I understand that the whole matter centres on the interpretation of some clauses of the Constitution concerning the privileges of the King regarding the conferring of decorations. According to Zaghlul Pasha's view this should be done on the proposals of the Government. He also suggested that it would be more constitutional if all royal scripts were countersigned by the Premier, who is responsible for them to Parliament."

All this does not fully clear the mystery of the reasons for the resignation, and we content ourselves by quoting from the speech of Zaghlul at the meeting of his party held at his house to consider the situation, in the course of which he said:—

"They say that the intrigues were carried on by Nationalists and Liberal Constitutionalists. If that were true, I would have despised them. They say that my proposed appointments were not approved. The facts are that all my proposed appointments were accepted. The intrigues were caused by another source. I do not

a prisoner, his release and return to Lake Albert Nyanza and joining Stanley; the arrival of the expedition at Zanzibar; the determined fight of Emin's mutinous troops with the Derwishes; and the eventual discovery of the remnant so long after as in 1894 by Captain Thruston who brought them back to Uganda—all this reads like a romance. The net result of all the fighting that the Derwish armies had to undertake was that when in 1895, ten years after the abandonment in 1885 of the Sudan provinces of Egypt on the advice of Gladstone's Government, Lord Salisbury came into power and was not unwilling to consider whether the improved condition of Egyptian finances and the Egyptian army did not warrant an attempt to recover the country, the Sudan was not in a condition to resist successfully.

XIV. THE RECONQUEST: THE DONGOLA CAMPAIGN, 1896

The story of the re-conquest of the Sudan should not take us long. There was to be this time no "Battle of Routes," no Desert Column and no River Column. All the resources of civilisation were to be marshalled and opposed to simple courage and manliness. Lord Kitchener was no tactician, but an engineer and an organiser. On 14th March, 1896, he received orders as the Sirdar of the Egyptian Army to re-occupy Akasha, fifty miles south of Sarras and to carry on the railway from Sarras. Within a week Akasha was occupied, and, as subsequent operations were to depend upon the amount of resistance encountered, the reserves of the Egyptian Army were called out. The troops were concentrated at Wadi Halfa, the railway reconstruction pushed southward, and a telegraph line followed the advance. Osman Digna had invested Kassala, where the Italians, crushingly defeated by the Abyssinians at Adowa, were in a critical state. The advance to Akasha relieved the pressure at Kassala, and the advance of another force from Tokar, and of yet another force from Suakin had resulted in comparative quiet in the Suakin region. At the end of May an Indian brigade arrived for garrison duty and Egyptian troops were released for service on the Nile. Lord Kitchener moved early in June to attack the Amir Hamuda at Firket, sixteen miles from Akasha, and surrounded and defeated his forces. By the end of June the railway was advanced beyond Akasha, and early in August it reached Kosha. The Derwish forces having crossed the river to Hafir, a British battalion had moved in September on Kerma which they had evacuated. At Hafir they were attacked by the gun-boats and by the artillery from the opposite bank, and forced to retire with their commander seriously wounded. Dongola was bombarded by the gun-boats and captured on the 23rd September. This was followed by the seizure of Dehba, Korti and Merawi, and the submission of the principal Sheikhs. This concluded the Dongola Campaign and a province was thus recovered to Egypt—and yet, as we shall see, not to Egypt! The Indian brigade at Suakin was returned to India, and was replaced by the Egyptians. The campaign had commenced with the Egyptian Army consisting of 16 battalions of infantry, of which 6 were Sudanese, 10 squadrons of cavalry, 5 batteries of artillery, 3 companies of garrison artillery and 8 companies of camel corps. There were also 13 gun-boats for river work. The only British force was the first battalion of the North Staffordshire regiment, which returned to Cairo immediately at the end of the Dongola campaign.

XV. THE SUDAN CAMPAIGN, 1897—THE RAILWAY.

The work of consolidation began, and preparations were made for farther advance when everything should be ready. The railway was continued to Kerma in order to evade the difficulties of the third cataract. But a far more important step that was now taken was the bold project of cutting off the salient which the Nile had made from Wadi Halfa to Abu Hamed, involving nearly six hundred miles of navigation, and including the fourth cataract, by constructing the railway across the Nubian desert and so bringing his base at Wadi Halfa within a few hours of his force when it should have advanced to Abu Hamed, instead of ten days. So, early in 1897, a new line of railway was commenced

from Wadi Halfa across the great Nubian desert 230 miles to Abu Hamed. The first-mentioned line reached Kerma in May, and by July the second had advanced 130 miles into the desert towards Abu Hamed. Then it became necessary to secure that terminus, before the railway was carried farther, by an advance from Merawi. So on the 29th of July General Hunter marched up the Nile from near Merawi to Abu Hamed, 133 miles distant. He arrived there on the 7th of August and captured it by storm. By the end of the month the gun-boats also had surmounted the fourth cataract and reached Abu Hamed. Berber was found to be deserted, and was occupied by Hunter early in September, and in the following month a large force was entrenched there. Thus Lord Kitchener's slow and steady advance, which had not to be accelerated by anxiety for a starving garrison at Khartum as in 1884, combined in the same direction the two rival routes which had delayed Lord Wolseley's own advance. For if Berber was not reached by a railway from Suakin in the east it was now reached early enough from the north by the river route, but assisted by two railways, the one following the Nile, and the other following the desert side of the triangle which it made in going south-westward from Abu Hamed to Debba and thence moving northward to Wadi Halfa. The railway reached Abu Hamed across the desert on the 4th of November, and was pushed rapidly forward towards Berber. This was the main work done in the year, and practically insured victory. It may be stated that Kitchener visited Kassala, and negotiated with the Italians, who were anxious to leave it, for its restoration to Egypt; and on Christmas Day an Egyptian force from Suakin formally took it over.

XVI. OMDURMAN AND THE END OF THE DERWISH RULE, 1898.

The next year was destined to bring about the end of the Derwish rule in the Sudan. Having heard of the Khalifa's intended advance northward, Lord Kitchener ordered a concentration of Egyptian troops towards Berber, and telegraphed to Cairo for a British brigade which came under General Gatacre. Disagreement among the Khalifa's generals postponed the Derwish advance and gave Kitchener the time he still seemed to need for making his preparations complete. But at the end of February Mahmud crossed the Nile to Shendi with some twelve thousand fighting men, and with Osman Digna advanced along the right bank of the Nile to Aliab, where he struck across the desert to Nakheila on the Atbara, intending to turn Lord Kitchener's left flank at Berber. Kitchener took up a position at El-Hudi on the Atbara. As it had been ascertained from prisoners that their army was short of provisions and that great leakage was going on, Kitchener did not hurry, but sending up his flotilla up the Nile, captured the enemy's depot, Shendi, towards the end of March, and early in April advanced to Abadar. On the 8th of April Mahmud's Zeriba was stormed and he was captured. Preparations were now made for an attack on the Khalifa's forces at the Omdurman, and while the troops encamped near Berber, the railway was carried on still southward to Atbara. At the end of July reinforcements were sent from Cairo, and on the 24th August troops were concentrated for the advance at Wad Hamad, above Metemma, on the western bank of the 6th Cataract. On the 1st of September the gun-boats bombarded the forts on both sides of the river and breached the great wall of Omdurman. On the morning of the 2nd September the Khalifa's army, 40,000 strong, attacked Kitchener's Zeriba where his total strength was nearly 26,000. It was repulsed with slaughter, and then Kitchener moved out and marched towards Omdurman, being again attacked twice with great vigour and fierceness on the right flank and the rear. The 21st Lancers charged the body of Derwishes which was unexpectedly met in a Khor on the left bank, and though they drove the Derwishes westward, the Lancers too lost a fifth of their number. The Khalifa was now in full retreat and his flag was captured. Lord Kitchener sent his cavalry in pursuit and marched into Omdurman. On the 4th September he crossed the river to Khartum and hoisted the British and Egyptian flags.

These flags are still flying there; but can we say with Colonel Vetch, who records the story of these operations, that the result of the battle of Omdurman was "the recovery of nearly all the country formerly under Egyptian authority," when we know that the country has never been under Egyptian but only under English authority ever since its "recovery"? And yet, although the officers were British, as they were when Sudan was lost, the army was almost entirely Egyptian. There was only one British division under General Gatacre with only two brigades, the 21st Lancers and 2 British batteries and a detachment of Royal Engineers, and they "were quickly sent down stream to Cairo." The rest were all Egyptian soldiers, and consisted of four brigades of infantry, camel corps and cavalry, five Egyptian batteries, twenty machine-guns, and a flotilla of ten gun-boats and five transport steamers.

XVII. THE DEATH OF THE KHALIFA.

The rest of the story is soon told. By the end of September Wad Medani, Sennar, Karkoj and Roseires were occupied and garrisoned. Before the end of October another Derwish army was beaten and a large portion of it surrendered, whilst its commander with the rest of his troops escaped to join the Khalifa in Kordofan. Early in the following year Lord Kitchener's brother was sent in command of a flying column some 200 miles above Khartoum to reconnoitre the Khalifa's camp some 130 miles west of the river in the heart of the Baggara country in Kordofan. As the position was strong and was occupied by much larger numbers than the British officer commanded, he thought it prudent not to attack it. In the autumn of 1899, however, he was at Gebel Jedir, a hill in southern Kordofan about 80 miles from the White Nile, and was contemplating an advance. Lord Kitchener concentrated 8,000 men at Kaka on the river 300 miles south of Khartoum, and moved inland on the 20th of October. As it was ascertained that the Khalifa had gone north, the expedition returned. Reinforcements were then obtained from Khartoum and a flying column, in all 3,700 men, under Colonel Wingate left Faki Kohi on the 21st November, and the next day encountered the Derwish force and drove it from its position, capturing the camp and a large supply of grain which was being conveyed to the Khalifa. On the 23rd Gedid was reached and the Khalifa was ascertained to be at Om Debreikat. Wingate marched on the midnight of the 24th and was resting his troops on high grounds in front of the Khalifa's position when at day-break of the 25th November, 1899, his pickets were driven in and the Derwishes attacked. They were repulsed with great slaughter, and Wingate advancing carried the camp. The Khalifa Abdullah El-Ta'isha, unable to rally his men, gathered many of his principal Amirs around him, among whom were his sons and brothers and other well known leaders, and "they met their death unflinchingly from the bullets of the advancing Sudanese Infantry." Three thousand men and some thirty Amirs of importance, including the Khalifa's eldest son, surrendered. The Derwish loss was estimated at 1,000 killed and wounded, while the Egyptian casualties were only 4 killed and 29 wounded. This shows what modern armaments and organisation can do; but it also shows the courage and determination of the old world to which they were opposed. Early in January, 1900, Osman Digna, the great supporter of Mahdi in eastern Sudan, was surrounded and captured, as he was wandering a fugitive among the hills beyond Tokar.

XVIII. THE COST.

The cost to Egypt of these operations, excluding the last year when all that remained to do was the destruction of the Khalifa and the remnant of his army, was £E. 2,354,354 of which the railways and the telegraphs took over half. Towards the total cost the British Government gave a grant-in-aid of £E. 800,000 or only a third, and the balance was borne by the Egyptian Treasury. We are told that the main item, the railways, remain a permanent benefit to the country; but it has yet to be seen whether the people gain more by it or the exploiters who are now in possession. The railway, delayed by the construction of the big bridge over the Atbara, was opened to the

Blue Nile opposite Khartoum, 187 miles from the Atbara, at the end of 1899.

XIX. CONDOMINIUM.

Not long after the battle of Omdurman and the hoisting of the British and Egyptian flags at Khartoum, and before the Khalifa had died and exactly a year before the capture of Osman Digna, convention between the British and the so-called Egyptian Governments was signed at Cairo on January 19th, 1899. It provides for the administration of the territory south of the 22nd parallel of latitude by a Governor-General appointed by Egypt with the assent of Great Britain, and declares the general principles in accordance with which the administration should be carried on. All that seems to have remained of those "general principles" is the hoisting of the British and the Egyptian flags together, for the Governor-General, as we have so recently seen, is no longer the Sirdar of the Egyptian Army even nominally and the expulsion of the units of the Egyptian Army from the Sudan without the sanction of the Egyptian Government makes it clear that the Sudan, although recovered mainly through Egyptian men and money, was only in name, Anglo-Egyptian and not even in name Egyptian, which it was when Mohamed Ali Pasha conquered it, and before British officers lost it in 1885, within three years of the British Occupation.

XX. SUDAN DEFICITS AND OTHER ADVANCES PAID BY EGYPT

As we have already stated, the Sudan Government budgeted year after year for a deficit, and even in the five years just preceding the first balanced budget in 1913 the deficits were roughly £E. 184,000, £E. 111,000, £E. 43,000 £E. 39,000 and £E. 62,000 respectively, or a total of half a million pounds sterling nearly in the best five years. If we go back the conditions are much worse. The revenue, which in 1898 was only £E. 35,000, for the first time exceeded a million in 1909, when the amount realised was £E. 1,040,200 and the expenditure in that year was £E. 1,153,000. In the years 1901-1909 £E. 4,378,000 was advanced from Cairo for public works in the Sudan and in the same period a further sum of about £E. 2,750,000 had been found by Egypt to meet annual deficits in the Sudan Budget.

Will any apologist for Britain tell us what kind of partnership is this when the property of one partner only is lost mainly through the mismanagement of the other, and then recovered some fifteen years later *mainly*, and developed *entirely* at his cost, but must be considered to be in name the property of both, and in reality is the property of only one, and of that one who neither acquired it nor owned it, but lost it, and neither recovered it except mainly at the other's cost, nor developed it at his own?

XXI. SUDAN SURPLUSES TO-DAY.

But what is the importance of the Sudan to Great Britain that she is determined to allow no scruples to come in the way of her acquisitiveness? In the first place, there are no deficits now. In the five years ending in 1917 there was an annual average surplus of £E. 96,904, and in the next five years the average surplus had risen to £E. 348,347, while in 1923 the surplus was £E. 373,663, despite the fact that the expenditure for that year included for the first time the provision for renewals fund of the Government railways, and an allocation of £E. 72,000 to reserve for the service of the Gezira loans.

XXII. EXTENT, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTS.

The so-called Anglo-Egyptian Sudan extends, north to south, a distance of about 1,650 sq. miles, stretching west to east about 1,000 miles. It has an area of about a million square miles, *being one-fourth the area of the whole of Europe!* It forms a compact territory which, being joined southwards by Uganda, brings the whole of the Nile Valley, from the equatorial lakes to the Mediterranean, under the control of Britain. From south to north the Sudan is traversed by the Nile and all the great tributaries are either partly or entirely within its borders.

It has a coast region extending along the Red Sea; it has a desert zone, the greater part of the region between the coast and the Nile being known as the Nubian Desert. West of the Nile too is the

desert district, which is part of the Libyan Desert; and which is even more desolate than the Nubian Desert. But there are the Intermediate Zone and the Fertile Districts. East of the Nile the region of absolute desert ceases about the point of the Atbara confluence. The country enclosed by the Nile, the Atbara and the Blue Nile, the so-called island of Meroe, consists of a very fertile soil, and along the eastern frontier, by the upper courses of the river named, is a district of rich land alternating with prairies, and open forests. The fork between the White and Blue Niles, the Gezira, is also fertile land. South of the Gezira is Sennar, a well-watered country of arable and grazing land. The climate is good. At Khartum, centrally situated, the minimum temperature is about 40°, and the maximum 113°, the mean annual temperature being 80°. January is the coldest and June the hottest month as in Northern India. In the central belt, where the rainy season is like our own from mid-June to September, there are some 10 inches of rain during the year.

As regards its products, the Sudan is the chief source of the world's supply of gum arabic and ivory. Among other products, are ostrich feathers and rubber, and of course, cereals. But what is most important from the point of view of Manchester is that cotton is indigenous in the valley of the Blue Nile, and cotton of a quality equal to that grown in the Delta is produced. *In fact the Sudan was the original home of the Egyptian cotton*. Before the opening in 1906 of the railway to the Red Sea the great cost of carriage hindered trade development. But now Port Sudan is a flourishing place, and the shipping there shows steady expansion, the tonnage of ships entering the port having been multiplied three times in the last ten years.

XXIII. COTTON: SUDAN AND EGYPT.

As we have pointed out, the total area is a fourth of the whole of Europe, and *about one-fourth of this area is said to be susceptible of cultivation*. Egypt is not half the size of the so called Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, for it has only a total area of about 400,000 sq miles, or more than three times the size of the British Isles, and of this area 14-15th, is desert, while canals, roads date-plantations etc., cover 1,900 sq. miles and 2,850 sq miles are comprised in the surface of the Nile, marshes, lakes etc. Of course, Egypt has been developed for a very long time and the area of cultivated land or land in process of reclamation, exceeds six million acres, while another six million acres of waste land awaits reclamation. Of the total area of cultivated land, from one and a half to two million acres are devoted to cotton-growing. Egypt is the third among the cotton producing countries of the world, its production per acre being the greatest of any country, though, owing to the restricted area available, the bulk raised is not more than one-tenth of the United States, and half that of India. The cotton crop of Egypt increased from 1,700,000 *Kantars* (a *Kantar* equals 99 lbs) in 1878 to 4,100,000 in 1890, 5,340,000 in 1900, 6,750,000 in 1905 and the cotton exported in 1913 amounted to 7 million *Kantars*, and was valued at £ E 25,500,000.

Now in Sudan the total irrigated area was some 2 million acres in 1912, while the total area under cultivation was stated to be little over a million acres only three years previously. We have not more recent figures before us just at present, but we feel certain that the area under cultivation is fast increasing. Egyptian cotton had been successfully established on the Nile as well as in Tokar District of the Red Sea Province. Even 10 years ago increasing quantities of cotton, which compared favourably with corresponding varieties grown in Egypt, were being produced annually. Experimental cotton-growing was then being conducted in the Gezira, the fertile tract of the country lying between the Blue and the White Niles. But much water has flowed in the two Niles since then, and the total exports in the year 1923 included nearly a million and a half sterling as the value of Sudan's cotton exports. The total cotton exports of the year are expected to be nearly double those of 1923, namely 50,000 bales against 28,000. In the 17th ordinary general meeting of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate the Chairman, in the course of his speech, brought out the fact that they had now all the money in hand for the completion of the development and equipment necessary for

the 300,000 acres cotton area which that company alone had determined to develop. Its total shipments of cotton came to nearly 18,000 bales. The Kassala Cotton Company had this year—their first year—something like 15,000 acres under cotton. In the Gezira they had 20,000 acres under cotton.

XXIV. THE MAKWAR DAM AND THE GEZIRA

But the Sudan Government had in June this year given the Company definite notice that the Makwar Dam should be completed next year and that gravitation water would be supplied to them in time for the 1925-26 crops, and the Chairman hoped to be in a position to announce in 1926-27 that they had achieved what they had set out to do, viz., to have 100,000 acres under cotton in the Gezira. They had already completed the development in the Sudan of 225,000 acres out of the 300,000 acres which was their original programme, leaving out of consideration the additional irrigated area that they would now have through the Makwar Dam in the Gezira. As the Chairman said, what they wanted really was "money for the construction of lines of communication free of interest for a number of years"—which is exactly what Egypt had been contributing so long. Now the Makwar Dam, which figures in the punishment meted out to Egypt for the murder of the Sirdar of its army, is two miles long and in places ninety feet high. The Makwar Dam was not to have more water stored than that required to irrigate 300,000 acres, as arranged with Egyptian authorities, out of 3 million acres available for cotton-growing in the Gezira area, where, let it be remembered, only ten years ago experimental cotton-growing was being conducted. Now the British Government has removed the restriction which it had imposed upon the Sudanese Government when there was an outcry in Egypt to the effect that the damming of the Blue Nile would deprive Egypt of the water-supply needed for the irrigation of her own crops, and so the Sudan can now irrigate an unlimited area from the Makwar Dam now nearing completion out of the 3 million acres available for cotton-growing in the Gezira area alone.

XXV. THE HUTTONS AND THE ECKSTEINS RULE THE EMPIRE.

It is this that makes the Sudan so valuable to Great Britain and to the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation and to such companies as the Sudan Plantation Syndicate and the Kassala Cotton Company. And because such companies want net profits of £113,000 "after liberal writing off", and 10 per cent interim dividend, and another 10 per cent final dividend, with a balance carried forward standing "at the splendid figure of £176,500", as the Sudan Plantation Syndicate has been able to declare, that Egyptian liberties as well as Sudanese liberties have to be destroyed. It is not Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Austin Chamberlain or Colonel Amery, or even Mr. Winston Churchill that rule England and the Empire, but men like Mr. J. A. Hutton, who seconded the motion for adopting the report of the Directors and the statement of accounts of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, which had been moved by its Chairman with the obviously ancient and honourable English name of Eckstein.

XXV. "ONLY WAY OF DEALING WITH EASTERNS"

Let us hear what Mr. Hutton has to say, and then we shall know what to expect from British Governments Tory, Liberal or Labour. This is what he said: "There is just one other point. This is not a political meeting. I think we ought to give praise where praise is due. I think the attitude of the late Government, as shown by Mr. Ramay MacDonald's letter, on the question of the relations between the Sudan and Egypt was excellent in every way—(hear, hear) and I sincerely hope, and have every confidence, that the new Government who have just come into office will follow in the same way. We all want to see a fair agreement with Egypt but at the same time we have got to look after ourselves and our own interests in the Sudan, and there must be no weak giving way for the sake of getting temporary peace. There is only one way of dealing with Easterns, you must be absolutely fair, you must be absolutely just, but you must be absolutely firm, and I have every hope that that is the attitude which the Government will adopt." Like all men with the soul of a profiteer, Mr. Hutton knows the "one way of dealing with Easterns". He is, of course, absolutely fair and he is absolutely just, but he is also absolutely firm. We only wish "the Easterns" also learnt the one way of dealing with the Westerns. They too must, of course, be absolutely fair, and absolutely just, but they must also be absolutely firm, and then no profiteer like Mr. Hutton will talk so much nonsense as he has done.

"The Council."

By The Hon. Mr. GUP.

'As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please.'
—As You Like It.

A large number of old subscribers of *The Comrade* have pressed us to reprint the humorous descriptions of Council Debates from its Gup columns. This they desire partly in order to revive old memories themselves and partly to introduce "the Hon. Mr. Gup" to the new generation which, although it is not unacquainted with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sir Trevelyan Wynne, and Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, and had known the late Mr. Cokhale and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, certainly did not know them as "The Bombay Duck," "Bootlair Sahib," "Suren," "Cheery Chitna," "the Mild Hindu" and "Bhupen Babu" whose Council activities were chronicled in *The Comrade* perhaps with greater truth than accuracy. If a large enough number of intending purchasers send in names for registration and book their orders, we shall gladly reprint this lively chronicle and re-present the figures of those that had played their part on the Council stage from ten to fifteen years ago from the "Eiffel-towering personality" of the Hon. Mr. Long fellow to a tiny predecessor of Lord Lytton looking every inch a Lieutenant-Governor."

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A Weekly Review.

Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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They only live who dare!

William Morris.--

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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
STRANGLING OF EGYPT --		LEADING ARTICLE--	
'Manners Maketh Man'	113	Hindu-Muslim Unity and	
British Labour Opinion	114	the Punjab ...	120
French Opinion ...	114		
American Press Comment	115	GUP--	
German Comment ...	115	The Commonplace Freak	125
THE RIFPIANS' FIGHT FOR		Petty Larceny ...	126
FREEDOM ...	116		
TETE-A-TETE--		ADVERTISEMENTS ...	126-128
Private Suffering of Public			
Workers ...	118		
The Accident to Begum Ansari	118		
After-Dinner Politics	119		

Strangling of Egypt. "Manners Maketh Man"

[The following telegram received by the "Daily Express" from Lady Drummond Hay, its Special Correspondent in Cairo and published by it in Mail week throws a flood of light on the way things are being done by the British in Egypt]

Cairo was treated to a striking pageant last evening, when Lord Allenby, escorted by a squadron of British cavalry, left the Residency to deliver Great Britain's ultimatum to Zaghlul.

Lord Allenby, wearing a lounge suit and soft hat, arrived at the Presidency Council at a quarter to five. The troops took up their position, and as the High Commissioner ascended the steps the trumpets sounded a salute, while officers with swords unsheathed presented arms.

Lord Allenby, accompanied by Mr. Clark Kerr, went straight to Zaghlul's offices and delivered the documents. He returned to the Residency with the same ceremonial. The whole proceedings took but a few minutes.

Zaghlul immediately rushed off to the Palace to submit the ultimatum to King Fuad, afterwards assembling the Ministers at the Presidency in order to decide the Government's attitude and the answer to the British Government.

At eight o'clock Parliament assembled in secret session. Zaghlul began by complaining that he had been slighted by Lord Allenby. In a voice choked with emotion he related how Lord Allenby had unceremoniously entered his office without preliminaries, and rapped out, "Do you understand English?" "No" answered Zaghlul Pasha

"Never mind," said Lord Allenby, and he read the ultimatum in English, leaving Zaghlul to surmise the purport of its ominous words until Mr. Clark Kerr enlightened him with a copy in French. Lord Allenby and Mr. Kerr then turned on their heels and left.

At this sitting Parliament passed a unanimous vote of confidence in Zaghlul, leaving him a free hand to act in the matter as he deemed fit and right.

An hour later the newspaper boys who were selling special editions became regular battle centres. For the past few days Cairo has been beflagged with single-sheet editions, appearing with incredible prodigality. Wordy battles waged round the terms among the street crowds, but no bones were broken. The streets are oppressively calm. Life in Cairo is paralysed.

At Alexandria last night, however there was a recurrence of the usual manifestations. Two tramcars were commandeered by demonstrators, who refused to pay their fares. Crowds of youths swarmed through the town, crying "Down with the English and the Governor of the Sudan!" Also during the funeral service celebrated in the St Mark's a band of three or four hundred students cried, "Vive Zaghlul!" which action is severely condemned by all the Arabic newspapers, Moslems being the first to acknowledge the respect due to the dead.

This morning Alexandria was again the scene of demonstration. There were cries of "Liberty," "Egypt and the Nile," and shouts hostile to Britain, but the demonstrators were easily dispersed.

Cairo is in a state of suppressed excitement, it having transpired early that the Egyptian Government intended to refuse the British demands, except four clauses directly concerning the crime. All the morning was spent in conjecturing every possible and impossible result.

A detachment of British lancers parading the streets served to give rise to a hundred rumours. A tardy newspaper report that the Valiant had been at Alexandria for some days provided material for scaremongers, also the presence at Port Said of four British warships, one a super-Dreadnought, which was unsuspected even by the best informed, and reports of the movements of the British Mediterranean Fleet, and news of military reinforcements.

The inquiry into the crime goes apace, and the arrest of another supposed criminal leads to anticipation of the discovery of the whole band, which most people agree were amateurs.

I went to Parliament this evening at five o'clock—the hour fixed for the expiry of the ultimatum—to hear Zaghlul Pasha make known the Egyptian reply.

The House was crowded. Zaghlul entered at 5.45, preceded by other Ministers.

Zaghlul, after reading the reply, pleaded for calm moderation, "which," he said, "is the best way of gaining our ambitions." The reply evoked intense enthusiasm.

British Labour Opinion.

The Independent Labour Party issued the following statement from its headquarters in London last night:—

The Independent Labour Party views with deep humiliation the actions of the present British Government in Egypt. It draws urgent attention to the fact that this policy of renewed suppression is due to a false belief that Great Britain has a moral right to occupy Egypt, though she has pledged herself on over 50 separate occasions to terminate the occupation, and formally recognized its independent sovereignty in 1922. The occupation of Egypt was originally due to strategic and financial reasons. It has no greater moral sanction than the German occupation of Belgium for strategic and military purposes. The Egyptian people have as much right to govern themselves as any other nation. The occupation of Egypt by an alien Power is the basic fact in the present situation, which on subsequent reason of strategy or financial interest should obscure.

The I. L. P. therefore, while unreservedly condemning the method of political assassination, deplors the fact that the British Government should have made this crime the occasion for asserting new Imperialistic claims, which may virtually amount to the annexation of the Sudan and the appropriation of water supplies from the Nile, to the detriment of Egypt and to the advantage of British cotton companies.

The I. L. P. urges that the issue of the control of the Sudan should be submitted to the League of Nations, with a view to developing that country as a self-governing nation at the earliest possible moment. It calls for an immediate Anglo-Egyptian Conference to complete the evacuation of Egypt, and to arrange for the submission of the question of the Suez Canal to the League of Nations, not as an issue in respect to which the British claim legal and moral authority, but as a problem concerned with one of the international waterways of the world. Signed on behalf of Independent Labour Party,

CLIFFORD ALLEN (Chairman)
A. FENNER BROCKWAY (Secretary)

✱ ✱ ✱

French Opinion.

[From the "Daily Express" Correspondent]

Paris, Nov. 25.

THERE is a change in the attitude of the Paris newspapers towards the Egyptian crisis, cartoons and editorial articles place Egypt in the most favourable and Great Britain in the most unfavourable light.

The "Œuvre" publishes a cartoon of the Sphinx with a wireless loud speaker on the top, John Bull is shown riding a camel, his hat is falling off, and his face shows alarm as the loud speaker shouts "Down with war!"

The "Petit Bleu" heads its article "Hypocrisy," and says that Great Britain is preparing to consolidate her hegemony from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Suez Canal. The newspaper refers to British "cupidity," particularly in reference to the Spanish evacuation of Morocco, and affects to believe that Great Britain is preparing to seize Northern Africa.

"During the short period since the armistice," it states, "little by little the real faith of England appears on the Rhine, in the Orient, in Africa. Everywhere we are up against systematic hostility. Everywhere British agents place the most perfidious traps in our plan."

The Communist newspaper "Humanite" accuses "Imperialistic Britain" of failing in her engagements, and, like several other newspapers, compares the British Note to Egypt with the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. The "Humanite" appeals to the workers of the world to show a united front. The article is illustrated with an offensive cartoon of Lord Curzon.

M. Clemenceau's old newspaper "L'Homme Libre" accuses Sir Eric Drummond of trying to run the League of Nations for the benefit of Great Britain.

M. Gustave Tery, in the "Œuvre," asks what the League of Nations is going to do about the Anglo-Egyptian conflict, and warns Mr. Baldwin that since last year the times have changed.

"L'Ere Nouvelle," which is often the mouthpiece of the Government, says: "In order to punish murderers it is not necessary to annex a colony." After examining the situation, it remarks: "In these circumstances arbitration is necessary, but neither France nor any nation of importance can intervene without annoying England." This newspaper suggests that either the League of Nations or the Council of Ambassadors should take up the matter.

The Conservative "Action Française" reminds Mr. Chamberlain that the Boer war sank the British Conservative Party for a number of years.

The "Gaulois" reminds its readers that for a century all great European wars have had their genesis in the Orient, but the newspaper does not think that any Power would risk a quarrel with Great Britain by bringing the Egyptian affair before the League of Nations.

"L'Avenir," the organ of M. Millerand's new party, says that Great Britain took all precautions to prevent Zaghul Pasha bringing his case before the League of Nations.

"L'Information" shows Egypt as a country trembling in fear and says that if she hesitates to put her case before the League of Nations she merits her fate.

An article in the "Journal" states that the conflict is caused by the cotton in the Sudan and by the fact that an oil gusher has been discovered in the neighbourhood of the Suez Canal.

The "Petit Parisien," usually just and fair, states that if it is true Egypt is about to put her case before the League of Nations and the Parliaments of the world, then the present period of calm will be of short duration.

"L'Intransigeant" says that France has nothing to gain by intervening.

M. Marcel Ray, writing in M. Loucheur's "Petit Journal" wonders how mobilisation would be welcomed in England, and says it would be a curious prelude to a conference on disarmament.

The "Temps" again devotes its leading article to the situation, and says it is absurd to believe that France has the slightest intention of intervening in the quarrel. It considers the affair to be a question of purely interior policy for Great Britain, and declares that it cannot find a precedent for bringing a case of this kind before the League of Nations.

The Government make no sign, but as soon as the Budget is voted it is possible that M. Herriot will ask Parliament to ratify the Geneva Protocol, and that there will then be a public debate on the Egyptian question.

[From the "Times" Correspondent.]

Paris, Nov. 25.

THE French Government does not propose to intervene in any way, whether directly or indirectly, in Egyptian affairs. The suggestion that the French Government intended to intervene is based upon nothing more serious than a resolution passed by the Paris Municipal Council—which seems to have more leisure than one would have supposed possible in view of the pressure of its own urgent business—begging the Government to intervene amicably with Great Britain and to submit the present controversy to the League of Nations.

As I indicated yesterday, a large part of the Press, from various motives, considers it is an appropriate moment for calling upon the League of Nations. But the more serious newspapers, while earnestly hoping for a happy issue, do not believe that there is much chance that Great Britain would accept the suggestion. Nor, indeed, do they see what third Power, if any, is to be expected to undertake the awkward part of intervener in a matter which Great Britain regards as one of internal Imperial politics.

The truth is that, not for the first time, the Paris newspapers, with few exceptions, take a parochial view of what is really a world affair. Some of them are unable to resist the temptation to represent Great Britain as brutally depriving Egypt, for the sake of Manchester, of the water upon which the fellah depends for his humble existence, or to describe the plucky policeman from Upper Egypt, who was rewarded by Lord Allenby for chasing the murderers, as "a British agent." But others are at length beginning to inquire into the course of events since 1904, and these write more temperately, contenting themselves with the expression of the hope that Great Britain will not "go too far." Ziwar Pasha, the new Prime Minister, is regarded as a sensible man with whom Great Britain ought to be able to settle matters in a "gentlemanly" fashion. He is described as a man of considerable personal reputation, who will be able to afford to be conciliatory without appearing to surrender any of Egypt's rights.

Lord Allenby, says the *Temps*, has received full powers to cope with all contingencies. It is to be hoped that he will not consider it necessary to use them in taking steps which would be equivalent to putting Egypt back under British control. "The most elementary good sense suggests that London should wait before going further until the attitude of the new Egyptian Government is defined and account has been taken of the chances of coming to a satisfactory arrangement which exist at the present moment. Everything tends to show that the Cairo Government is displaying the greatest good-will to arrange matters to the extent compatible with the maintenance of its dignity." Great Britain, adds the newspaper, would be committing a political fault if she spoilt her good case by some act which would lead it to be supposed that she intended, in an Imperialistic spirit, to impose her will without allowing Egypt to defend her own point of view.

In the opinion of the *Journal des Debats* it would be neither just nor skilful to demand political satisfaction in connexion with a crime with which the Egyptian Government had nothing whatever to do. "In our opinion, the threatening step taken by Lord Allenby ought to resolve itself into an invitation to a serious conversation, and not into reprisals."



American Press Comment.

[From the "*Manchester Guardian*" Correspondent]

New York, 24th November.

A critical note, in some instances sharp and anxious, runs through the first press comment on the British demands upon Egypt. American public opinion, as inspired or reflected in the newspapers, appears to find similarity between the action of the Baldwin Government in this instance and that of Signor Mussolini as to Corfu. Great Britain's arguments that the League may not arbitrate in the crisis because Egypt is not a member and the situation presents only a domestic problem and questions of national honour are disputed, among others by the "*World*" and the "*Brooklyn Eagle*."

The "*World*" goes so far as to say that the United States might have resorted to the same tactics when Consul Imbrie was killed at Teheran, but no other newspaper attempts to stretch causes and situations so dissimilar on the same frame. The "*Eagle*" sees a reversion to the diplomacy of Disraeli and Palmerston, and in general the American papers do not seem to believe that British reservations on Egyptian independence, the Near East situation, and the safety of the Suez Canal justify drastic action. The "*Eagle*" concedes that the murder of the Sirdar was the result of organised anti-British propaganda in Egypt unrebuked by the Zaghlul Government, but the "*World*"

is alone with the statement that the murder was an individual act and that Egypt as a nation has no direct responsibility.

So fears of general war are expressed here, and no Jingo devoted to the principle of "self-determination" has even suggested that any nation, including this one, should attempt to stop Great Britain from enforcing her demands. The "*Sun*," while admitting the surprising similarity in tone between the British ultimatum and the Austrian after Serajevo, concludes nevertheless that swift and harsh action was necessary, and that not only are Mohammedans everywhere warned of British determination to maintain the Empire, but all nations will be impressed with the fact that the Government now consists of men "who have strength of conviction, power of decision and readiness to act."

"READING THE RIOT ACT TO ALL ISLAM"

New York, 24th November

The "*Evening Sun*," in its leading article, says:

It must be assumed that the British Government has good reason to believe that the Egyptian Administration either knew of the plan for the murder of the Sirdar or knew the assassins, or could not be expected to punish the criminals if left to itself. There is no other tenable explanation of an ultimatum which is almost as astonishing as that which Austria-Hungary sent to Serbia in 1914.

Furthermore, there was a good deal more than merely Egypt involved in the swift action of the Baldwin Government in the present case. Had Britain acted weakly every Mohammedan from Cairo to Calcutta could have interpreted that weakness as evidence of British fear of an Islamite uprising. In reading the Riot Act to Egypt in the way it has done, the Baldwin Government read the Riot Act to all Islam, telling it that methods of assassination are not likely to promote whatever there may be that is legitimate in its nationalistic aspirations. The last word in judgment of British policy cannot yet be spoken but this at least may be said. There is not a corner of the British Empire but knows that there are now in power in London a group of men who have the strength of their convictions, power of decision, and readiness to act with thoroughness wherever they conceive that the interests of the Empire demand strong action, even if that action is open to misinterpretation in quarters which cannot possibly be as well acquainted with the basic facts of a given situation as are the men charged with the destiny of a far-flung Empire.



German Comment.

[From the "*Daily Express*" Correspondent]

Berlin, Nov. 24

The British-Egyptian conflict provides the Nationalist and Junker newspapers with an opportunity of voicing their feelings against England.

Some of the comments are reminiscent in their bitterness of the campaign waged by the same Press during the Boer war. England is compared to a monster of injustice and oppression, seeking only to take advantage of the murder of the Sirdar to crush the Nationalist spirit in Egypt and complete what they call her "damnation" of the country.

"Egypt Under England's Oppression" is one of the headlines this evening. "The Egyptian Serajevo" is another.



The Riffians' Fight for Freedom.

[The Riff Question has now assumed an international importance. The success of our Riffian brethren has been so great that there is a flutter in the dovecotes of France, England and Italy, and preparations are apparently going on to combine all these Powers against them. This week we give a brief description of the country and a resumé of its past history, and shall follow that in the next issue with a summary of the events of the War of Riff Independence against Spain the success of which has upset so many of the High and Mighty Puissances, all of which are of course, the friends of Islam, and none of which ever combined to rob the Muslims of their independence.]

IN that farthest west of the Muslim world there lies, just at the north-eastern end of the Atlas range of mountains in Morocco, the hilly country of the Riff which is a political division of the Moorish Empire to-day. If you land on the south-western extremity of the Mediterranean Sea at any point on the African coast between Ceuta and Melilla, you will see from the lofty cliffs the land rising in fold after fold to the higher summits. It is from these higher levels that the Riffians, the people of the Riff, come. They are the aboriginal Berbers and they were the men who held up the Romans in North Africa. The Arab invasion on Barbary carried to them the blessing of Islam and their fusion with the Arabs made them the descendants of that hard-fighting race of the Moors who occupied Spain for centuries but were unfortunately driven back to Africa in 1610. The blood of these brave and hardy mountaineers of the Riff to a greater or less extent permeates the whole population of Morocco, and it is on account of the constant re-inforcement by this Berber element that that far-off post of Islam has to this day retained its independence alone among the countries of North Africa. The Riffians are tall, spare and powerful men, with skin that seems to have been originally white. Their women are noted quite as much for their chastity as for their beauty. The Riffians are generally admitted to be a part of the great Mediterranean race which founded most of the early civilisations.

II. RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

Ever since the retreat of the Moors from Spain, the Spaniards with other European aggressors have been trying to crush the independence of Morocco and make helots of its inhabitants. From the early part of the 13th century there are records of Christian mercenaries and others in the Moorish service, while intermittent trading expeditions had already brought the principal European ports of the Mediterranean into touch with Morocco. The settlement of European traders in Moorish ports does not appear to have commenced till later, but it soon became an important factor and a way was thus opened up for diplomatic intercourse and treaty privileges. The encouragement which European trade received consequently gave birth to rights enjoyed by foreigners in Morocco which have been confirmed from time to time by treaties.

France was the first to appoint a Consul to Morocco in 1577. Great Britain did the same a century later. During the first half of the nineteenth century, France and Spain acted independently in Northern Africa; but in 1880 a Conference of Powers intervened, for the first time, and the Convention of Madrid in that year is the first diplomatic document making any attempt to define the rights and duties of the several States.

On this footing matters remained for about twenty years; but in 1900 France again brought the question of Morocco forward, and persuaded Italy to allow her a free-hand in that country, in return for a similar non-intervention in Tripoli. In 1904 a Convention on the same lines was signed between Great Britain and France, the price of the British disclaimer being a free hand in Egypt. Thus strengthened, the French Government concluded, in

October of the same year, a secret treaty with Spain, providing for the partition of Morocco between themselves, when the Sherrefian Government collapsed. All these independent agreements were superseded in 1906 by the Convention of Algeiras by which, as the result of German intervention, the independence of the Sultan was formally guaranteed, and it was laid down that all future administrative reforms in the Sherrefian Empire were to be carried out by "international agreement." The special position of France in Morocco was nevertheless recognized, and in 1911, in response to an appeal from the Sultan, a French army was landed, and marched on Fez. Almost simultaneously the secret agreement of 1904 became known in Germany, and the Agadir crisis followed. Great Britain supported France, and the result was that France was formally given the right to armed intervention in Morocco and to proclaim a protectorate, which she did in 1912. It was now absolutely necessary for France and Spain to come to an agreement as to their respective spheres of influence, and they naturally used the old Convention of 1904 as the basis of the new treaty, which was signed at Madrid on November 27th, 1912. It is this treaty by which their respective interests are defined to-day. By the Treaty of Madrid, the whole of Morocco subject to the nominal jurisdiction of the Sultan, and to the special status conferred on Tangier, and subsequently regularized by the Convention of 1923—was divided between France and Spain, who proceeded to undertake the effective military occupation of their respective spheres.

Now there are three spheres into which the imperialist exploiters of Europe have divided Morocco. The first is Tangier and its surrounding district which is a small peninsula south of the Strait of Gibraltar and is called the International Zone. The Riff and the north-western part of Morocco, bounded on the south by a line running south of Sheshuan, thence passing westwards to some five miles south of Alcazar-el-Kebir and striking right up to the Atlantic coast some ten miles below the port of Larache, is the Spanish zone. The rest of the central and southern Morocco is the sphere of France.

III. THE RIFFIAN PEOPLE.

As has already been pointed out, it is on account of the Riffian Berbers that Morocco has not lost its independence altogether. They possess an invincible spirit of independence which neither admits of any allegiance to the Sultan of Morocco nor accepts the baneful protection of any European Power. The Riffians have never paid any taxes and have never been subdued by any of the Moroccan Sultans. Each village in the Riff is ruled by a council of elders. The subjugation of the Riff by arms is a very difficult matter for it would require at least one soldier to every square yard of territory to disarm the population, and that is more easy to say than to accomplish. This is what makes the situation serious and increases the difficulties of the Spanish Government. Despite their traditional isolation the Riff tribes are well acquainted with things European, for many of them are engaged in overseas trade, and the Bokoya are the best seamen in Morocco. When M. Say founded Port Say, at the mouth of the Kisa, about three miles from Saida and Muluya, the majority of the settlers and of the seamen employed at the port were Riff tribesmen from the Bokoya. As a result of their travels it is common to find Riffians who speak English at Gibraltar, in Malta, and in Egypt, others who speak French in Algeria, others who speak Spanish at Melilla and Ceuta, and others, again, who speak Italian in Tripolitania. The most of them are Germanophile as a result of their intimate relation with the firm of Mannesmann and others who have done business in the Riff. Since 1902, the date when the house of Mannesmann began its penetration of the Riff, the mentality of the Riffians has changed. Many of them have travelled in Europe, and believe that the Riff is a fairy-land full of gold, silver, mercury, iron, lead, oil, copper, and every known mineral. Every now and again engineers arrive from one country or another to strike a bargain with Mohamed bin Abdul Kareem and other

Riff chiefs, and these visits increase the tribesmen's belief that the Riff is the richest country of the world. According to the *Western Daily Press*, Great Britain would like to see the whole of the Riff territory in the possession of Spain, though "the desire of Great Britain is that these territories in Morocco should be opened up to legitimate trade, and of course, should the process of exploitation be carried forward in the proper manner, Great Britain will claim the recognition of her rights to equality of treatment with all other Powers." Thus while this dishonest and ruthless process of exploitation is being "carried forward in the proper manner" by European land-grabbers, our Riffian brothers are desperately struggling for complete independence and, God-willing, will at no distant date secure their birth right.

As late as in 1921 their revolt against the Spanish Government resulted in a disaster by which a Spanish army was nearly annihilated in the Melilla area. This year, again, the Riffians are fighting for liberty under the leadership of Sayed Mohamed bin Abdul Kareem who has become a national hero since the Spanish catastrophe at Anual in July 1921.

IV ABDUL KAREEM'S RESOURCES

He was formerly a clerk in Madrid. He is, however, no mere ignorant mountaineer, but an able, shrewd leader, employing not only the fighting power of his guerilla warriors but every resource of civilisation, including telephones and aeroplanes, that he can command. His tribesmen offer voluntary military service. Their wants are scanty and the remuneration for their services is small. He is always gathering in new tribes. The warriors of the Riff meet or disperse with extraordinary mobility. From the age of twelve the Riffian is an excellent shot. When he wishes to test a rifle he fires at a five-peseta piece at a range of 120 yards. If the mark is still untouched after five shots the rifle is rejected as defective. It is not possible for a Riffian to miss even this tiny target so often. It can almost be said that all the male members of the tribe can be put in the fighting line. The Riffians are at their best in fighting guerilla warfare. Their method is to lie in wait near a post and when the convoy comes along fire is opened on the mules. With modern rifles in their hand this can be done effectively at long range, but they are able to lie concealed until the convoy is much nearer. "The Latest Canard," which is the title of its article on the subject of British help in money or arms to the Riffians, invented by cunning people either to show Britain's friendliness towards a Muslim people, or to account for the success of an eastern and Islamic nation against a European and Christian Power, is well refuted by the *Western Daily Press*. It is, however, reported that the Riffians import war material from Europe. It must be remembered that the father of Mohamed bin Abdul Kareem is wealthy and almost a millionaire who made mountains of money during the War by supplying German submarines with oil fuel to facilitate undersea operations in the Mediterranean. Therefore, the idea of unlimited supplies of war material being poured free of cost into the Riff country by an interested European Power may be dismissed. Whatever arms are brought from Europe are no doubt paid for in good Riffian money. But these brave soldiers of Islam fight with the zeal of lovers of Liberty mainly using such arms and ammunition as they capture from the enemy. It is said that under stray Turkish and German instructors they have learnt to fire some of 150 guns captured in 1921. All the above allegations are unvocally refuted by the following official communique which Mohamed bin Abdul Kareem sent to the Tangier correspondent of the *Times* —

Some newspapers in England and France have announced that the Government of the Riff is in close relation with certain European companies. It has also been stated that an English company offered the above mentioned Government the sum of £3,000 sterling and telephone material and all necessary military supplies from Europe. Also the said newspapers have exceeded moderation in declaring that there are European officers in the Riffian army, both instructors and in command of the army. The announcement is absolutely in-exact.

Therefore, the Riffian Government makes the following official announcement to the public. Up to the present time the Riffian Government has not made any arrangements with any company and has not received any money. The telephone material was captured from the enemy, and all the war material has been seized by us in our successful occupation of the Spanish military posts, but the hand-grenades we manufacture ourselves, using our local experience.

It is not true, as European newspapers have declared, that to their certain knowledge there are foreigners amongst us to instruct and command our army. There are only our Riff officers, who are engaged successfully in training our troops from the experiences they have gained in many fights. The only foreigners amongst us are the prisoners of war, who are being well treated and are respected by the Riffian Government.

We request the Press of Europe to contradict such statements, which contradiction will cause the Riffian Government much satisfaction.

(Signed) MOHAMMED BEN ABDUL KARILM

IL KHTABE

What may be the total strength of Abdul Kareem's forces it is impossible to compute, but according to an English traveller who recently visited the Riff the total number of riflemen commanded by the Riffian leader is not more than 50,000. On the other side, it is known that Spain has at least 70,000 or 80,000 men in the Tetuan area and probably 100,000 in Morocco all told. These troops have, of course, the advantage of being organised on European lines and fully equipped with everything except perhaps transport. They have, however, to fight in a wild, mountainous, and roadless country, they are inexperienced in any kind of fighting and are said to shoot badly, and they have to combat an enemy who knows every inch of the country and fights guerilla fashion which is always most trying and dangerous for inexperienced, though disciplined, regulars. Their leaders have the further crippling consideration that while bold enterprise may be a disastrous failure, success cannot be conclusive since it is practically out of the question for Spain to conquer the whole of the mountain region into which the Riffs have always retreated when the Spaniards were too many for them. More than that, the internal situation in Spain is such that even a successful war cannot well be afforded. Only in June last the head of the governing Directory, the Marquis de Estella, had decided to bring to an end the chronic fighting which had been going on and to make terms with the tribesmen. His decision was practically overruled by the other Army leaders, who probably knew that such surrender would only encourage the Moors, and wished to drive them well back before treating with them. So far, it is the other side which has done the driving.

V -- OPENING OF THE WAR

The military position in Morocco was reported bad on 12th September last and the elation of the Riffians was, therefore, correspondingly great. It was on 13th September, the anniversary of the *coup d'état* which made General Primo de Rivera the master of Spain, that the Riffians were advancing towards Tetuan which is about 25 miles south of Ceuta, the African port opposite to Gibraltar. The Riffian attack was so fierce that Ceuta was already filled with refugees. The Tetuan-Tangier road was also attacked by the Riffians but on the 14th September it was reported by that panegyrist of everything anti-Islamic and anti-Eastern, the *Times* correspondent, that the part of the road lying in the International Zone was cleared of them. But though three Spanish columns engaged in forcing the road numbered 20,000 men, it was still not open for ordinary traffic. The outposts on the hills around Sheshuan, as well as the garrison of the Holy City, which is 45 miles to the south of Tetuan, were reported to be holding out "successfully and brilliantly" against the Riffian attacks and the garrison of Dar-Akoba, a very important post guarding the approach to Sheshuan along the Tetuan road, was reported to have made "a brilliant sortie," killing 40 of the Riffians and capturing 19

rifles and three prisoners. The story of a Frenchman being murdered by the Moors near Laraiche and his beautiful wife being carried off by them was circulated the same day. Against the glowing reports of the *Times* correspondent at Madrid, however, must be placed the frank confession by General Primo de Rivera.

It tells us of the seriousness of the situation at Tetuan and his description in broad terms of the line to which Spanish forces were to be withdrawn in the course of an interview which the General granted to the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent on the 12th September stands in marked contrast to the success and the brilliancy of the *Times* correspondent's report. Perhaps the Spanish withdrawal had already begun, because we find it reported by the same correspondent from Madrid on 15th September that the Spanish troops had abandoned a further number of positions in Morocco. Tiguisan, east of the river Wad Lau, and Koba Darsa, Tiagarin, Cheruda, and other positions in the lower part of the valley of the Lau.

Almost all the English journals hailed this retreat of the Spaniards as wise and bold, but one of them writing on "The Agony of Spain" said that "There is no doubt about it. The Spaniards in Morocco have been defeated. Also there is no doubt about the necessary sequel." Yes, there could be no doubt and the sequel could easily be foreseen. On 16th September the situation in Morocco was reported stationary. But the Rifian agitators were reported to be active in the region of Jabala where Raisuli had influence and where his mountaineers were siding with the Spaniards and were said to have fought very well against the Rifians. In fact, for some days past the Spaniards had been steadily withdrawing their outposts from the slopes of the Rif and from the valley of the Lau River. Sheshuan was yet unrelieved, and preparations were being made for negotiations between the Spanish Directory and Mohamed bin Abdul Kareem.

Spain was inclined to reduce the area of her effective occupation and to concede to Mohamed bin Abdul Kareem a large measure of economic and administrative independence for the mountain tribes outside the Spanish line. In return Mohamed bin Abdul Kareem was to recognise the authority of the Sultan of Morocco and of his Khalifa or representative at Tetuan and the Powers were to be informed that Spain withdrew none of her Treaty rights over the unoccupied part of her zone. But the Rifian leader insisted on the complete abolition of the Spanish Protectorate and the retirement of the Spaniards to their ancient possessions of Ceuta, Melilla and Alhucemas, together with a tiny hinterland. The rest of the Spanish zone was to be made completely independent under a constitutional Monarchy to be recognised by Spain and the other Powers. Raisuli and the tribes who had supported Spain were to be punished, and a ransom was to be given for the Spanish prisoners then in the hands of the Rifians.

VI. RELIEF OF SHESHUAN.

Spanish columns, 40,000 strong, were, however, reported on 19th September to be advancing from Tetuan with the intention of converging on Sheshuan and relieving that isolated town. Meanwhile the Jabala tribesmen were holding a mass meeting at the sacred tomb of Mulai Abd-us-Salam in the Beni Aros tribe lands, where vows to continue *Jihad* would be taken, it was reported, even by tribes that had so far held aloof. The tribesmen were to proceed direct from the tomb of Mulai Abd-us-Salam to attack the Spanish columns proceeding up the valley towards Sheshuan.

On 23rd September began the Spanish advance on Sheshuan. A week later, the Spanish relief columns from Sok-el-Arba reached Sheshuan. They passed the night at Akoba, and from there advanced without difficulty, as the Rifians had abandoned their positions to go to the west to threaten, according to their usual tactics, the less protected sectors of the Laraiche zone. The relief of Sheshuan led the *Times* to fall into raptures. In a long leading article under the caption "A Brilliant Success" the *Times* wrote: "The King of Spain, his fine people and his Army are to be congratulated upon a success in Morocco which is certainly brilliant and which may possibly have decisive consequences." Referring to General Primo de Rivera's proclamation that victory would be achieved, the *Times* in a triumphant mood added: "It has been achieved at Sheshuan, and the striking success attained there may prove to be the prelude to a general triumph. The end is not yet, but this may be the beginning of the end." An ally of Spanish Crusaders could hope anything, but the future had in its womb that which was not hoped and Time alone was to show in whose favour 'the beginning' would end.

TETE A TETE



PUBLIC workers have had to go through not a little suffering on

Private Suffering
of Public Workers.

account of their near and dear ones during the year that is closing. The public is always

eager to extend its sympathies to them in their sorrows and sufferings, and hearty

prayers are offered to the Almighty to relieve them of their sufferings

or to grant them fortitude to bear their sorrows. But the public cannot afford to give them a respite in which to allow their feelings to have their natural outlet and to rest and recuperate themselves.

At Cocanada, a year ago, Congressmen saw at every turn the half naked figure of an Andhra worker who was here, there and everywhere, and who seemed to be the chief executive of the Reception Committee working under that noble leader of Andhradesh, Konda Venkatapayya. And so he was. This was Sambhamurthi, Secretary of the Reception Committee, and it was learnt that only a little while ago he had lost his only son, a youngman of great promise. Yet nothing in the face or the bearing of this busy man indicated that he had been so terribly bereaved so recently. It was plain he could not afford to indulge in sorrow at such a juncture, and so he had drowned his sorrow in his work. His chief Konda Venkatapayya himself was working under the shadow of imminent grief, for his daughter, too, was lying dangerously ill just when he was receiving his guests at Cocanada. Another Congress will now meet at Belgaum and we do not know how many national workers would be working there under the shadow of similar grief or in the same suspense. We can, however, say that public workers of this type - and we know that they are many, even if not all are equally well-known to the public - deserve all the sympathy they secure. Only recently Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, than whom there is no more conscientious worker in the whole country, had to leave suddenly for Allahabad on receiving news of his wife's serious illness. We know that in spite of Mrs. Jawaharlal's dangerous condition, the Honorary General Secretary of the Congress thought more of the work of the All Parties' Conference and the A I C C than of the state of health of his dear partner in life. Thank God, Mrs. Jawaharlal has survived this sudden and serious illness though not without great suffering both in body and in mind, and while we congratulate her and her husband on her recovery, we condole with both on the loss of the young life which they were eagerly and anxiously expecting.

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HARDLY had Mrs. Jawaharlal emerged from danger when an accident happened to Begum Ansari on the

The Accident to
Begum Ansari.

7th instant who was motoring down to Meerut. It was a terrible crash against a tree while the car was being backed from some road metal on to which it had unfortunately been allowed to rush.

The Begum was thrown against the front seat, and then thrown

out of the car through the left door, which had been wrenched off its hinges owing to the force of the impact. She was first hurt in the chest, and then in the left side, and finally on the left shoulder and the left side of the head. The first shock was great, but the injury in which it resulted was not so severe. The rebound proved to be productive of far more harm, for Begum Ansari had several ribs broken through impact with that part of the car from which the door had been wrenched off, and it is feared that one of the broken ribs has pierced the lung as well. But the worst injury is that of the head, for the base of the skull has been broken, and the concussion of the brain is the thing that caused the gravest anxiety. After the accident, which took place before mid-day, the Begum remained absolutely unconscious for an hour and a half. After that she was with great difficulty lifted from the ground and placed in the car by the chauffeur and by Dr. Ansari's nephew and his two grandnieces whom she was chaperoning back to their parents in Meerut. It took the car two more hours to reach Meerut, and yet another hour elapsed before she was removed with great difficulty from the car to the house of her relatives. She bled from her left ear for more than 5 hours. Drs Bhopal Singh and Mitra were the two local doctors that promptly attended her before Dr. Abdur Rahman arrived from Delhi in his car in response to a telephone message. Miss Keane, the Lady Doctor at Delhi, arrived by train at night. Dr. Ansari, who was at Lahore attending the Conference that Mahatma Gandhi was having with the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab, received news of the accident by a telephone message from Delhi after 8 p. m., and he and Maulana Mohamed Ali just managed to catch the C. I. P. mail and reached Meerut early next morning. It was then decided to remove the patient at once to Delhi, and she was taken to the railway station in a motor lorry on a stretcher and arriving at Delhi early in the afternoon of the 8th she was taken over home in a motor ambulance for which Mr. Abdur Rahman, Pleader, who had telephoned to Dr. Ansari to Lahore and sent the doctors to Meerut, had arranged. Begum Ansari remained in great pain for four days, and in an almost semi-conscious condition for five days. Consciousness began to return from the 12th instant, and by the 13th she became fully conscious. At first very great anxiety was caused by her condition, and Sepsis and high temperature were feared. But things have turned out better, and she has been progressing as well as could be expected in the circumstances. Anxiety, however, still remains, for she has had a slight rise of temperature which was first noticed on the 12th. This does not seem to be due to Sepsis, but has probably been caused by a slight congestion of the base of the lung owing to the lying posture of the body all these days. As we go to the Press we learn that fever has altogether left, and Begum Ansari is now feeling conscious. Every one will, we feel sure, sympathise with Dr. Ansari and his little daughter, Zuhra, whose pinched face when her mother was brought home in an ambulance car was a sight too painful to see. But, apart from sympathy with Dr. Ansari, and with Begum Ansari herself for her terrible suffering, there will be additional sympathy for her because she was looking forward after a whole year's strenuous house-keeping as the hostess *par excellence* of Delhi to her only holiday to be enjoyed at Belgaum in the Congress camp. She has seldom missed a Congress in recent years, and her grief at missing this one at Belgaum would indeed be very great. All who have been Dr. Ansari's guests and who that has come to Delhi has not been?—know that Dr. Ansari's lavish hospitality could not have been practicable without her in spite of the doctor's best intentions. But, perhaps not quite as many people know that this apparently wholly domesticated lady does almost as much public work among her own sex as her husband does among men. She is not only an educated lady, but indeed a learned one, and in spite of her apparently remaining immersed in house-hold work, which alone enables the doctor to discharge his overwhelming public and professional duties, she takes the keenest, and often a very active interest in public work. Although it is impossible for her or even for Dr. Ansari to be at Belgaum at the Congress, we pray that she may be restored to health at a very early date. May she soon resume her public activities as well as begin once more to provide for the comforts of the numerous visitors to that free hotel or Caravanserai that exists for the benefit of all comers, and specially of public workers, at No. 1, Daryaganj, Delhi.

SIR ALI BABA, K.C.B. wrote in his historic book of travels entitled "Twenty-one Days in India" on After-Dinner Politics. the varying conceptions of East and West and illustrated them by reference to the simple matter of announcing a visit. In the meagre West it is a bit of paste-board, the visiting card that announces the fact. In the gorgeous East it is called a *Dali*, of which the season is as surely approaching as that of Plum Pudding and Mince Pie, the Holly and the Mistletoe. But in one matter the meagre West is more lavish than the gorgeous East. When an Indian community approaches the Great Ornamental at Simla or in "the grave-yards of the North" at Delhi, it waits on His Excellency in deputation, and after droning out its carefully prepared and generally officially inspired Petition called an Address and humbly listening to the official pronouncement, it retires outside the cool penetralia of the Viceregal Lodge. But when the European community chooses to be heard by the Viceroy or the Provincial Satrap, and to hear either of them echo its own superb sentiments, it invites him to a dinner. And the invitation, like the Dine-and-Sleep at Windsor is a Command! There is therefore no need of an R. S. V. P. at the end of invitation. That comes only at the end of the speech of the President of European Association or of the Caledonian Society, as the case may be, and it takes the prescribed form of the toast of His Excellency's health. The company is all White, the cookery is good, the wine is exhilarating and gives a stimulating property to the atmosphere which the Viceroy on the occasion of the European Association's dinner at Calcutta very wisely decided not to attempt to analyse too closely. There is nothing to jar on the entire company. All feel alike, think alike and talk alike and it is somewhat difficult to judge, when reading the speeches in the papers next morning whether a particular sentiment was expressed with accents of authority by Mr. H. W. Carr, the august President of the European Association or only by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Mr. Carr is right. Nothing that he does indicates "uncritical support for the Government." As an important member of the nation of traders—Napoleon was bitter in calling them "shopkeepers"—he belongs to the "governing classes," and Viceroys and Governors have to pretend to rule but in reality are at their beck and call. Well may Mr. Carr therefore refer to "the easy accessibility of His Excellency." They pay the piper—though out of the Indian Exchequer—and they have every right to call the tune. So Mr. Carr while laying down the law about the way in which India is to be ruled, and its "reforms" are to be "reformed," rejoicing that India is going to be bled a little more for the transfusion of blood into bureaucratic veins according to the Lee plan, pulled up the Viceroy before proposing his health and rebuked the Government's proclivity "to make concessions to political opponents without counting the cost to their supporters" as in the case of the acquisition by the State of two railway systems shortly to be transferred. Step by step the Viceroy followed the President of the European Association in his reply which was but the echo of Mr. Carr's sentiments, except that he had not the courage to talk about the State's acquisition of two more railroads from the magnates of Dundee and Aberdeen, of the North of England and of London. We only wish His Excellency had left out the Lee Loot. Is it not enough that India pays? There is nothing in the Viceroy's speech for which we were not prepared. Indeed, if we know when His Excellency is next going to speak, we may publish an advance report of it—in the *Gup* columns—after a very little effort of the imagination. The only observation of the Viceroy's that calls for any remark is the distinction he has made between anarchists and political parties in India. We fear it will not console the Swarajists much to know from the Viceroy's own lips that political parties in India generally have "constructive aspirations" when three scores of Swarajists have been dealt with by His Excellency as if they were anarchists with a "sinister objective—the desire to destroy society and Government and to produce chaos." Will it surprise His Excellency to be told that though we do not "know the facts as he knows them," there are no anarchists in that sense in India! Believers in violence, "yes," and destroyers of a system of Government shared between Mr Carr and Lord Reading, "yes," but deliberate destroyers of society and producers of chaos, "No," a thousand times "NO!"

The Comrade.

Hindu-Muslim Unity and the Punjab.

NEITHER the Hindus nor the Musalmans of the Punjab are lacking in provincial patriotism, and to those who live in the districts round about Delhi and Agra, where the Mughal Court at one time attracted men from all parts of India, and where "provincialism" was as unlikely to exist as, say, in London that attracts all Britain, and in a way all the world, the Punjab is no less than the Bengalis seem to be saturated with "provincialism." It may indeed become dangerous when Swaraj is achieved unless firmly controlled by leaders imbued with spirit of an "All-India" patriotism. Even at the risk of provoking this "provincialism" of the Punjab, we would remind its people, as we have often before felt inclined to do, that the new era in politics which is identified with "The Coming of the Mahatma" commenced with the resentment created in Indian minds by the cold blooded decision of General Dyer to shoot and shoot strong at Jallianwala Bagh and the calculated national humiliation of the Crawling Lane. It is foolish to place any reliance on the misleading unity of opposition, and we would be the last to believe that we can remain a united people merely by feeding on the memory of Martial Law terrors in the Punjab. Many a coalition formed in Opposition and adversity has broken down after the first flush of victory at the polls and in the very first days of Government. If Swaraj is not only to be won, but also to be retained thereafter, our unity must be based on something more lasting than the memories of common suffering. It is not therefore with a view to create and retain unity in the Punjab that we have referred to the tragedy and the terrors of Martial Law days. But in view of what has been happening during the last three years in that unhappy land, we feel it to be our duty to remind the people of the Punjab that Jallianwala Bagh and the Crawling Lane are both situated in a city of their own province. It is a moral, indeed, that any one should ever have forgotten this and particularly anyone in the Punjab. But so it seems.

II. THE ULSTER OF INDIA.

To one who had left India united and in a mood of exaltation in the autumn of 1921 when the gates of a prison closed over him, and who found this unity almost entirely absent, and exaltation replaced by depression, if not despair, when he stood once more outside the prison walls two years later, the Punjab appeared like the Ulster of India, which seemed to desire the continuance of the existing system of Government when all other parts of the country were clamouring for a change. For it was clear that Hindus and Musalmans were nowhere more hostile to each other than in the Punjab, and the Land of the Five Rivers was pre-eminently the land of communal recriminations. It was therefore, not without some justification when the President-elect of the Coconada Congress said that if the Punjab could not reconcile its Hindus and Musalmans, it would have to be left to its fate, and while the rest of India won Swaraj the Punjab could appeal to British bureaucrats of the Die-hard type boarding the P & O. boats "Homeward bound" to leave behind a Dyer and an O'Dwyer for the governance of the Punjab. In the course of the discussions in the Subjects Committee, too, when the dissentients in the Punjab were delaying the decision of some point, he remarked that the Punjab was not the whole of India, and it must not retard the progress of the rest of the country. It was then that a great public worker of Madras origin who is domiciled in the Punjab said that, although the Punjab was not the whole of India, it had enough poison to kill all India! All these observations may appear bitter to the Punjabis, but that is no reason why such truth as they contain should be disregarded. Mr. Santanam's remark

about the poison that the Punjab contained has proved to be only too true. Punjab has poisoned all political life, and much of the discord and disunion to eliminate which the Unity Conference was called last September at Delhi had had its origin there. This may be gall and wormwood to Punjab's provincial patriotism to-day, but the stalwarts of the Punjab must recall how Dr. Kitchlew's proposal of the organisation of a campaign of Civil Disobedience miraculously united the Hindus and the Musalmans of the Punjab in their opposition to it on the ground that no further progress could be made on account of the dimensions of the two communities in the Punjab.

III. MASSES OR EDUCATED CLASSES?

How is it that the Punjab has been for some time past the plague-spot in Indian politics, and why is it that its plague has not been localised, as the President of the Congress in his optimism contemplated, but has spread its infection all over the land? When the Unity Conference at Delhi spent day after day in discussing the pettiest details with regard to beef shops and *Jhatka* and music near mosques, and the people assembled and dispersed without settling, or even discussing the things that mattered to the Punjab far more than all these, it became clear that the majority of those that had gathered together on hearing of the Mahatma's fast of twenty-one days were either ignorant of the etiology of the disease of disunion, or unwilling to provide for it the only real remedy. This ignorance or unwillingness whatever it be persists to this day.

We are told that it is ignorant masses that quarrel on account of their religious superstitions and prejudices, and that the educated leaders cannot control the passions of the crowd when once they are excited. We ourselves agree that it is no use attributing to the educated and refined members of diverse communities the rowdiness of the *budmashes* and the havoc wrought by them, for the *budmashes* belong to no community, but form a distinct community of their own, and to it all is grist that comes to the mill. But we must not forget that the masses only follow and do not lead, and that the *budmashes* of a locality, even if they begin an inter-communal quarrel, do not themselves carry the contagion to other localities, and are not responsible for carrying on the quarrel in district after district and province after province. However much the root of evil may be in them, it is not they who create the atmosphere in which they thrive. Consciously or unconsciously, it is the educated classes of India that supply them with the nourishment they need.

IV. THE PETTINESS OF THE ISSUES

We would recall what the President of the Congress said on this subject in the course of his Presidential Address at Coconada. Referring to the pettiness of the issues—which alone, it may be explained, the Unity Conference at Delhi attempted to settle—he said

Nothing makes me more ashamed than the pettiness of the issues and I confess I had it difficult to refute the calumny of our enemies that we are unfit for responsible Government when I contemplate their potency for mischief side by side with their pettiness. Far be it from me to sneer at the modes of worship of my fellow men, but I feel unspeakably depressed when I think that there are fellow-countrymen of mine, including my own co-religionists, who would jeopardise the recovery of our lost liberty, including religious liberty itself, for the sake of the satisfaction they seem to derive out of cutting a branch of a Peepal tree overhanging a public thoroughfare and interfering with the passage of a pole of ridiculous length, or out of beating tom-toms and blowing trumpets before a house of worship at prayer-time while moving in a procession. Friends, if we cannot acquire a better sense of proportion, let us be honest, at least with ourselves if not with others, and give up all thought of freedom. We must not talk of Swaraj even within the Empire, let alone out of it. if "alams" and "Peepal" trees and noisy processions are our "horizon's utter sum," then all our Congresses and Khilafat Committees are mere mockery.

'Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth.'
Let us close this chapter of childish make-believes, and, taking the first train back home, let us devote ourselves henceforward to the realisation of the ideal of petty self-concern.

which alone befits a nation of slaves. Let us at least not take the sacred name of Liberty in vain. Let us add our confession to the claim of our opponents, and admit that God, Whom the great religious teachers of the East, in which all the existing religions have had their source, had taught us to regard as just has yet been so unjust to a fifth of mankind that He has made them totally unfit for self-rule and has left it to His White creatures hailing from Europe to correct His mistake and carry on for all time the administration of India. But if we do not want to drag our spiritual ancestors into the mire along with ourselves and to blaspheme a just God, let us elevate ourselves to the height of our ideals and lift the masses instead of sinking down to their low level.

V. THE LITTLE-LEARNED OF THE LAND.

But this reference to the low-level of the masses had constrained him to correct a possible and, in fact, to some extent a prevailing mistake. So he had added.

Since I have referred to the low-level of the masses let me say this much for them that what I wrote in 1904 concerning the education given in the Indian Universities is still true, and even to-day the greater portion of bigotry agitates not the bosoms of the ignorant and illiterate but excites to fury and to madness the little-learned of the land. And it is not the love of our own religion that makes us quarrel with our fellow countrymen of other faiths but self-love and petty personal ambition. "The Coming of the Mahatma" had meant the destruction of the kingdoms of the nations and the federation in their place of the one United Kingdom of the Nation to be whose Chief Servant was his great glory. But these little-kings who had lost their thrones were not reconciled to the idea of national service under the banner of the Nation's Chief Servant and were running for restoration. So long as Mahatma Gandhi and his principal co-workers were free they had not the courage to raise the standard of revolt, and there was no room for them in the economy of the Indian world except as openly despised slaves of the foreign or as secretly discontented adherents of the National Federation. And so they chose the latter alternative. But with the Mahatma immured at Yerrowla they reassured themselves, and since they could not hope to occupy his position they have persistently, though not professionally addressed their appeals to communal passions and jealousies in order to destroy the National Federation and hinder the recovery of their petty principality. Before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi some streams, some large and some small, were running more or less parallel to each other, and little boats were being rowed on them. But soon afterwards almost all of them were diverted into one channel and became tributaries of a mighty river rapidly moving on to join the sea. On the broad bosom of this river there sailed a powerful ship manned by lusty sailors captained by the Mahatma and flying the National flag. What the petty ambitions or petty venalities had imagined ever since the Mahatma's incarceration is that we should seize the big ship and take to the little row-boats again. But since these little row-boats are not so enough craft for the mighty river hurrying on towards the sea, they propose a rebellion in Nature itself and ask that the great river should flow back to its old tributaries. But Nature cannot be thus tricked and the futility of the desire to make the Ganges flow backward is a thing known even to our village fools. In the name of this Congress, and of the Indian Nation—nay, even in the name of that Deity which shapes our odds, rough-hew how we may, I warn this little breed of men that God-willing, they will not succeed, and that the Indian nation cannot look upon their insidious activities with unconcern.

VI. LAND OF PARADOXIA

Alas, this "little breed of men" has succeeded only too well so far, and the Land of the Five Rivers has been their happy hunting-ground. Is it without significance that just when in the Malabar itself the retribution which overtook the Moplas, and which did not cease till they had been relentlessly crushed, at last reconciled the Hindus and the Muslims, it should have been the Punjab which should have provided the Hindus of Malabar with their most ardent and zealous champions, and that it should have been the Punjab again which should have given asylum to discredited Muslim "leaders" without a following and provided them with a safe enough platform? Let a Hindu or a Muslim complain anywhere in India, the Punjab will be the first to supply him with a host of sturdy champions, Hindu and Muslim as the case may be. Let a Hindu procession be

obstructed; let a Muslim religious rite be hindered; the Punjab will be the first to raise the voice of protest. Hindus are nowhere else such ardent Hindus, and Muslims nowhere else such zealous Muslims as in the Punjab. And yet alien tyranny has nowhere else more contemptible sycophants and slaves to sing its praises and offer it their support even unto death than in the Punjab. Punjab indeed is the Land of Paradoxia, but it is not difficult to solve the riddle of this seeming paradox.

VII. THE LAND OF FIVE JOBS.

The gibe that the Punjab is not so much the Land of Five Rivers as the Land of Five Jobs is alas! only too true, and whether the Hindus are to have three jobs out of these five or the Muslims is at the bottom of most of the dissensions in which the dissentients take the name of religion in vain. This is not to say that the Arya Samajists are not keenly interested in the "Shuddhi" of Muslims and the Muslims are not keenly interested in conversions. But the really significant fact is that one appointment to the Public Services means a hundred disappointments, and it is the disappointed that create the atmosphere in which religious prejudices, bigotry and narrowness thrive best. And, speaking generally the newspapers of the Punjab seem to thrive best on such prejudices, bigotry and narrowness. Most of the evils emanate from the colleges, those breeding-grounds of E. A. C.s, Tahsildars, Naib-Tahsildars, Police and Excise Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors and those cradles of clerks and "Babus." The unsatisfied ambitions of would-be petty tyrants give an added zest to the proselytising zeal of the Shuddhi and anti-Shuddhi propagandists. And the newspapers conducted generally by the same class make communal capital out of everything that happens anywhere in India.

VIII. THE GANGES AND ITS GANGOTRI

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was inclined to demur at Lahore to this diagnosis of the Punjab disease, and desired to know if what had happened at Multan and at Kohat could be attributed to the educated classes. Kohat is recent enough tragedy, but Multan is about as old now as Katarpur was when the very unfortunate and regrettable incident of Multan occurred; and it was certainly neither so brutal as the burning of human beings at Katarpur nor on so large a scale, nor yet of so premeditated character, as the series of the events that happened still earlier in the Province of Bihar in the districts of Gaya and Patna. We cannot say to what extent the educated classes were concerned in the Multan affair; but it was not certainly an illiterate person that lit the flame at Kohat, though the wretched verses by means of which he did this offend against every rule of prosody and grammar as well as of decency and betray a coarse and unrefined nature below the level even of the masses. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is of opinion that what has been said above constitutes the severest possible indictment of the educated classes concerned, and we are inclined to agree with him. But that does not make the indictment any the less a "True Bill." Lala Lajpat Rai, on the other hand, cannot reconcile this with his provincial patriotism, and, like so many of the young men of the Punjab who gather round him, he expresses his disagreement by resenting the charge against the Punjab, and is eager to prove the record of the United Provinces with its Amethi, Sambhal, Lucknow, Shahjahanpur, Allahabad, and—let it be added—its Pilibhit which only too many seem to forget—is far worse than that of the Punjab. To this nothing could be an apter retort than that of Mahatma Gandhi himself, that in the Punjab and particularly in Lahore is the Gangotri of this Ganges no matter through what provinces it may flow.

IX. THE JOBS AND THEIR VALUE

For our part we refuse to think that the salvation of any community in India lies to-day in number of jobs it can secure under the Government. Many scores of millions of people live in India and earn their bread without being members of any of the Public Services, and at any rate it should be a matter of disgrace to us

to quarrel over these jobs when by this time we should have made the other items of the Non-Co-operation so successful that Mahatma Gandhi should have been calling out civil employees of the Government as the last resort of a resolute and unflinching Non-Co-operator. Moreover, the Musalmans resorted to Non-Co-operation not so much at the bidding of Mahatma Gandhi as in obedience to the Commandments of God. For them to fight the Hindus over posts the filling of which was declared by their Ulama to be *haram* is a double disgrace. But since neither Hindus nor Musalmans in the Punjab agree to surrender or concede anything to the sister community, it is idle to talk about the duties of the Non-Co-operator in this connection or about the dictates of the *Sharia*.

This much may, however, be said for the Musalmans of Northern India. Unlike the Memons, Borahs and Khojahs of Bombay or the "Punjabis" of Delhi, Cawnpore, Calcutta and other places, whose ancestors were originally Hindu, and who have inherited the instincts and capacity of their trader ancestors, the majority of the members of the Muslim aristocracy and middle classes in the North are descendants of people who never did any trade at all, and have therefore inherited no such aptitude. Their ancestors were mostly administrators or commanders of troops, and their families always looked to these occupations to provide them with their means of subsistence. When Muslim rule passed away, and was supplanted by English rule, all military and the best of civil appointments became the close preserve of the new rulers, and these families came to depend for their maintenance on such of the civil appointments as still remained open to Indians. When English education, to which in their pride they did not for long take at all, became the only standard for judging merit for the Public Services, they suffered yet another set-back. More recently they have advanced in English education, and would advance still more if they were not kept out of Government and aided institutions, as they are by the competition of other communities. If even after qualifying themselves in these unfavourable circumstances they are unable to obtain their proportionate share in the Public Services, they feel they have a genuine grievance which must soon be redressed. In the circumstances there is no help for it but to discuss and decide what proportion of these jobs should go to each community in the Punjab.

Moreover, we are fully cognisant of the fact that where there is inter-communal strife the greatest injustice is likely to result if even the most subordinate posts are manned by any one community in unduly large numbers. So long as the Executive is not responsible to the Legislative in India. The proportion of seats in the Legislative Assembly and in Provincial Councils allotted to a community is not of such grave and immediate consequence as the proportion of administrative appointments filled by members of a community. If injustice, and all the mischievous and far-reaching consequences of injustice are to be prevented, an equitable settlement of this seemingly petty question is clearly an immediate necessity.

X. PROSPECTUS OR DIVIDEND.

But what should be the basis for a proper adjustment of the communal shares in the administration? Personal ambitions and communal greed play a great part in this matter, and specious phrases, such as greater efficiency and superior educational qualifications, are only too often used to cover the injustice that is intended. This is all the more surprising because similar pretexts when put forward by the foreign bureaucracy are mercilessly exposed by the self-same people. Since this fallacy of the higher efficiency of monopolists has not yet received its quietus, we are compelled to say that the intelligence of the few can never be a proper safeguard of the interests of the many. And when people are not actuated by motives of broad-minded patriotism, the superior intelligence of one group or section cannot but be regarded by other groups and sections as a rather dangerous possession. It may, however, be that even when the motives are pure they are none the less suspect. "That, friends," as the President of the Congress

said at Cocanada is the *Karma* or legacy left by the injustice of past generations, and instead of taking undue offence, we must live down the such reputations. In Politics as in business credit has first to be established, as a good balance sheet and a moderately good dividend are far more useful in the long run than the most attractive prospectus. We could have gone much farther on the road to liberty and self-rule if minorities had been quite sure of the company which they had been invited to join. But the common platform of the Congress has now provided an excellent opportunity to all of us to prove the patriotic character of our motives, and however long it may be before we succeed in establishing our credit, nothing can be done without it, and losing our temper over unmerited suspicions, or hustling those who entertain them and try to jockey them into an expression of confidence that they do not yet feel in us is poor business." We recall all this because the same objections are being raised to-day in the Punjab over the question of the apportionment of the posts and over communal representation and separate electorates as had led the President of the Congress at Cocanada to urge these considerations.

The Musalmans in the Punjab complain that they are not proportionately represented in various services in the Punjab and they claim that they should be so represented. As regards efficiency, they agree that for every kind of post a minimum standard of efficiency should be prescribed, so that in no case, any one below this standard may be employed no matter to what community he belongs. But if a man belonging to a community that has not received its proportionate share of patronage, who is up to the standard of efficiency thus fixed is available, he should be appointed in preference to a candidate of an already over-represented community, and should not be excluded on the ground that the other is qualified according to a yet higher standard of efficiency. As it is, degrees and diplomas are too often regarded as fetishes, and efficiency is claimed to consist almost exclusively in the letters a man is entitled to place after his name as a result of a University examination. This, as a matter of fact, is not a sufficient indication even of education and culture, for many a man who has never been in a University, and who does not know even English, is yet entitled to be regarded as educated and cultured. Who, for instance, is prepared to say that Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad are less educated and cultured than a graduate of the Punjab University? But it would be a great injustice if in filling a post for which only graduates are required if a graduate belonging to a community already insufficiently represented is to give way before one belonging to an over-represented community, merely because the latter is not only a B.A., but also an L.L.B. and it would become wholly intolerable if a mere B.A.; ranked above him because he had passed his B.A. examination in the third division and the other had passed it in the second! This would only serve to increase the evils of competition, and it would certainly not be the administration of the country that would benefit from this kind of adjudication of competing claims. The Musalmans, while they desire that future appointments, whether new or to fill up vacancies, should be so made as to approximate to proportionate representation, do not insist on any immediate or unreasonably rapid adjustment of the communal proportions, Mahatma Gandhi has after cross-examining some of the prominent Punjab Musalmans fully grasped when they desire and he sums up their proposals only justly when he says in *Young India*: "in other words, there should be no class favouritism or class preference."

XI. EXCESSIVE OR PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION?

As regards representation on elected bodies, the Musalmans of the Punjab now seem to be agreed that, instead of giving excessive representation to Musalmans in the many provinces in which they are in a minority, and reducing their majority in the Punjab from 55 per cent, to 50 per cent. and in Bengal to a minority of 40 per cent. only, in every province the Musalmans should have in all elected bodies representation in accordance with their numerical proportion in the population of the area to be represented.

XII. SEPARATE OR MIXED ELECTORATES ?

There is still some disagreement as to the way in which the community should secure this proportionate representation. All are agreed that where the Musalmans are in a minority the only way in which they can insure that the majority does not return some Musalmans who represent its own views rather than those of the Muslim minority is to maintain separate communal electorates that were brought into existence under the Minto-Morley Scheme of Reforms in 1910 after such a hard and sustained struggle. But Punjab Musalmans have been asking for separate electorates for Muslim majorities as well, on the ground of undue pressure likely to be brought to bear on the Muslim voters by non-Muslim in whose debt they may be, or whose lands or houses they may have taken on a lease. In this connection, however, efforts are being persistently made by other Musalmans to induce their brethren in the Punjab to leave it to a minority, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, to say whether it needs such a protection, and not to permit a majority to decide this question for itself and for the minority as well. The objections that have been urged by the Punjab Musalmans are not without their cogency, but the greatest difficulty which they experience in the Punjab, and in all probability in Bengal also, is the want of organisation and no protection such as the existence of separate electorates can be a good substitute for organisation. Separate electorates for the protection of a majority would leave it content with its disorganised condition, while the prospect of a keen struggle with an organised minority, such as exists in the Punjab, and even more so in Bengal, would provide it with the best inducement to organise itself also.

In the present state of Hindu-Muslim tension it is idle to expect that small Muslim minorities would consent to be swamped by non-Muslim majorities that might very conceivably put up men of straw as Muslim candidates, and have them returned by their own votes when the Muslim votes are insufficient to affect success at the polls. It will indeed be a great success, if they do succeed, for those who are making efforts to induce Punjab Musalmans to leave the decision to the minorities only whether separate electorates should exist in an area or mixed electorates but if the Hindu attitude is not conciliatory their efforts may prove entirely fruitless. We hope the Hindus would realise what a great step in the right direction it would be if in the Punjab separate electorates are abolished, and thereby both communities are enabled to affect the success of the other's candidates for election, and thus to reduce the chances of success of those who entertain and promote ill-will between the communities and pose as the most ardent champions of their own community. This one step will, we trust, cleanse to a great extent the Augean stables of the Punjab.

XIII. THE HINDU ATTITUDE.

Let us confess we were not prepared for the opposition which these proposals of the Musalmans of the Punjab have met at the hands of Hindus and Sikhs. We can understand their opposition to an arrangement which would transfer some of the posts in the Punjab administration from them to the Musalmans, and however much they may disguise their concern for themselves in catch-phrases about efficiency and the rest of it, it is clear their arguments have a no better ground to stand on than those of the British bureaucracy, itself. But we cannot understand when in the Punjab of all places they can suggest that various communities should trust each other, and the Musalmans should give up both communal representation and separate communal electorates when they are already about to take a big step in giving up excessive Muslim representation. No one would rejoice more than we would when the day dawns on which, in view of the past actions of various communities in India, the minorities themselves announce that they do not need any such protection as communal representation or separate electorates. However much separate electorates may react on rational consciousness and encourage undue communalism and separation, it must be remembered that they are not so much the cause as the consequence of separation and narrow communalism. They are the *Karma* of the communities

that failed to do justice to minorities the backward classes when they had everything their own way, and if the Musalman craving for separate electorates and communal representation is to be attributed to Muslim narrowness and desire for separation, what shall we say with regard to a similar craving on the part of Non-Brahmins in southern and south-western India? Like symptoms indicate like diseases, and we would earnestly appeal to Hindus throughout India and to Brahmins in the areas where Non-Brahmins have begun to assert themselves that they should not take undue offence at any indication even of unmerited suspicion on the part of Muslims and non-Brahmins, but should set out to win their confidence by the fraternal service they render to their weak brethren and to establish their credit. Let it be remembered that communal representation and the separate electorates alone have made it possible for Musalmans to enter Indian politics, and although Muslims and non-Muslim have been separated at the polls, they have fought the bureaucracy shoulder to shoulder in the Council after their election, instead of remaining outside these Councils and offering their support to bureaucratic reaction. If any one hopes to-day that Indian Musalmans could be induced to revert to the conditions that prevailed fifteen years ago before the Minto-Morley Reforms gave them a foothold in politics he is certainly very far from being a normal man.

XIV. HINDU ARGUMENTS

Mahatma Gandhi writes that the Hindu position at Lahore was not crystallised. Whether crystallised or not, it was clear enough. The Hindus did not want communal representation at all which is easily intelligible if we look at things from the point of view of the majority such as the Hindus constitute in almost all provinces, and of an overwhelming majority as they are in most. But the worst of it is that they are not satisfied even with such a majority. They would make it still more overwhelming in all provinces where they are in a majority, and they would convert their minority in the Punjab and Bengal into a majority by discarding the population basis and regulating the proportion of representation by their superior wealth, for which such euphemisms as their "voting strength" and their "strength as tax-payers" are current in their discussions. Nobody claims to be more democratic than they, but for keeping the Musalmans in a minority everywhere they do not mind opposing the suggestion of universal adult suffrage. And last but not least, they are opposed to communal representation in local bodies. Their action in the case of Lahore Municipality indicates clearly enough that they would rather forego all representation on a local body than permit any alteration of their relative strength thereon. We frankly confess we are disappointed in their nationalism, if nationalism it is, that has prompted them to oppose the settlement proposed by the Musalmans at Lahore. But what are we to say to those who pretended to think that the unfortunate events of Kohat had produced an atmosphere of coercion and intimidation, and until that atmosphere was changed there could not be a proper settlement if these questions on the merits" and that "to submit to any settlement of these questions under fear of further riots was inconsistent with their dignity." We do not believe a single politically-minded Hindu really thinks in this manner. At all events, no Musalman imagines that the events of Kohat can compel any Hindu to concede anything to a Musalman, nor was any concession demanded at Lahore. Mahatma Gandhi knows how to deal with such arguments and he explicitly told the clever gentleman who stood on Hindu dignity that it was precisely the argument of the bureaucrat who would not concede anything to force or show of force, and did not concede anything when the political surface was calm and placid. We have already explained in detail what connection riots such as took place at Kohat have with "disputes over these questions," but to talk of a settlement of these questions as being inconsistent with the Hindus' dignity because of the riot at Kohat is to create in the Muslim mind the suspicion that Haves in the matter of the loaves and fishes of office desire for the obvious reasons to continue the *status quo* on any and every excuse, while the Have-nots desire for equally obvious reasons a

change and a different kind of distribution. We put it to men like Lala Lajpatrai to say if it does not look as if the Hindus, used everywhere to the manifold advantages that a majority patently brings in its train, are unwilling that the Muslims should secure these advantages even in one or two provinces. A minority is a minority even if excessive representation is given to it, as to the Musalman in the United Provinces, and "suffering is the badge of the tribe." But many a Musalman in the United Provinces is willing to trust his fate with a Muslim population no better than 14 p.c. of the total and yet Hindus in the Punjab are unwilling to trust their fate with a proportion of population as high as 32 p.c. which is more than the Lucknow Pact gives to day to the Muslims of the United Provinces.

XV. THE SIKH ATTITUDE

And yet it is not as if the Muslims in the Punjab had a representation nearly as high as 70 p.c. which is what the Hindus have in the U.P. The Sikhs will be entitled on the strict basis of population to 13 or 14 p.c., and it is ignoring patent facts if it is suggested that this factor does not help the Hindus of the Punjab. It is not true, as Lala Lajpatrai, says that "the Muslims contended that the Sikhs were a part of the Hindus which fact was denied by the Sikhs." The Sikhs certainly maintain that they are a community in themselves separate from the Hindus and have been accepted by the Government as such. What the Muslims contended was that the Sikhs did not ask for separate representation when the Muslims first asked for it when the Minto Morley Reforms were on the anvil more than fifteen years ago. For all political purposes they were Hindus then, and if the Hindus can have their way, they will still be Hindus for every purpose. It was only when effect was being given to the Montagu Chelmsford scheme of Reforms that the Sikhs asserted their separate identity. But can it be said that they had a genuine grievance against the Muslims for not recognising the separate identity in the Lucknow Pact of 1916? The Muslim did not allot any representation to Hindus. They only obtained their own share and left the rest for non-Muslims. Therefore can any Hindu who was negotiating with them at Lucknow say that he felt at the time that if the Sikhs afterwards wanted separation, their share would have to be taken out, not exclusively from the balance left over for Non-Muslims, but from that of the Muslims of the Punjab, whether partly exclusively? So far as the Sikhs' claim for excessive representation is concerned we certainly think that they are entitled to it if any other community obtains it. But we frankly confess we do not understand their claim that if there is to be no excessive representation for any community, but merely communal representation then too they are to have excessive representation. And even if we understood this claim, we must confess we are entirely unable to understand how a community so keen on excessive representation will still be entirely satisfied if all communal representation is abolished and the Sikh representation is to be left to the hazard of the polls. Their touching contentment over anything that may fall to their share as the result of territorial election, lost much of its impressiveness when Mahatma Gandhi put a simple but a very searching question to them. He asked if it would matter to them at all whence their excessive representation came to them if communal representation continued. The obvious answer was that it did not matter in the least so long as they had their proper share. But their representatives hesitated and in that moment of hesitation lost their case. They had not consulted others. "They could not speak for anybody but themselves." "They were expressing only their own opinion" and so on and so forth. The general impression among the Muslims of the Punjab is that the surprising Sikh attitude is the result of negotiations between the Hindus and the Sikhs over the Gurudwara Bill that is being drafted by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya as a compromise between the Akalis and the Mahants and that the Sikhs had been persuaded to think that one good turn would deserve another. If this suspicion is true, the Muslims of the Punjab have only to thank themselves, for

they gratuitously offended the Sikhs through their action in the Punjab Legislative Council when several of their representatives voted against the Sikhs and with the Government. But the question is not whether the voice is the voice of Jacob. The hand are the hands of Esau and the Muslims of the Punjab can yet be reconciled to the Sikhs by giving them every legitimate support.

XVI. APPEAL TO MUSALMANS.

We seek the forgiveness of the Sikhs if we have offended them by our plain speaking, and in fact we seek the same forgiveness from our Hindu brethren. But we want to be helpful and our conscience is clear. It seems to us that what the Punjab Muslims desire is to have a reserve of power which their majority might give to them, so that if their co-religionists in any province are likely to be subjected to injustice on account of their unsafe position as a minority, the Hindus should think twice before they subject them to such injustice, knowing as they would then do that they could not do it with impunity to their own co-religionists in the Punjab, as two could play at that game. Such calculations are the commonplaces of politics, but they do not appeal to us. We do not ask Muslims to trust the Hindus if they do not feel so disposed. But we do ask them to trust themselves and trust their God and to trust human nature. We ask them to be prepared to surrender everything in politics to any community of their fellow-countrymen, because such surrender is made not in their weakness but in their strength, would make them invincible. No concession in politics can be too great to make to-day, firstly in the cause of peace and good-will, and next in the cause of India's freedom. Such communal acquisitiveness and aggression and desire to exploit as exists anywhere to-day in India is the progeny of our slavery. Once remove it and the whole brood will disappear. Self do rule and such petty-mindedness can not co-exist. Once more we appeal to the Muslims not to permit any existing inequalities to come in the way of their co-operation with other Indian communities with a view to achieve freedom. Let them trust themselves, trust human nature and trust God who made man a noble creature and not a vile one. And let them trust freedom itself which breeds only nobility.



TIME PASSETH.

A glorious radiance kissed the snow-capped hills
As o'er the distant heights the sunlight fell
Proclaiming 'Time was passing on its way
Bidding the peaks a lingering farewell.

The shadows played so softly in and out,
As lower sank that ball of flaming fire,
Until it passed to rest between the hills,
Leaving behind but Mem'ry and Desire.

To them was born that wondrous color child
Who crowns the heights of snow with gorgeous sheen
The borrowed glory of an after-glow
Reflecting light and shade of what has been.

Then over all mysterious twilight grew
That short connecting link 'twix night and day,
Which stealing o'er the mountains breathes of night,
Whispering another day has passed away.

W. K. G.



"The Commonplace Freak."

THE ancient mythology of the philosophic Greeks teems with many grotesque figures of creatures who ruled the destinies of those primitive days, such as their sylvan god, Pan, with a goat's feet and legs, their aquarian enchantress, the Nymph, their fabulous Centaur and their slippery Mermaid. We read of them and wonder, but few realise that Nature seems to have favoured us with a creature the like of which we do not find even in the Myths of ancient nations. It seems to be the outcome of the diverse evolving forces of centuries, and Mother Nature must have laboured hard to give birth to a creature like this.

He has existed in all ages, but with those present-day Hermaphrodites, the 'Man-Baps' his progeny is multiplying. He is a biped with the instinct of an animal and the understanding of a man, mixed up in mysterious quantities which give a grotesque result, neither human nor brute. His genius thrives in every clime and every region. The heat at times warms him up and makes him more vociferous, but even the chill of the Frigid Zone does not benumb him and make him quiet. Naturalists of to-day seem to know very little of the life-principle of this strange creature. It seems to be more ethereal than the three elements of the air and altogether too evasive for the microscopic observations of the scientist. The elements that nourish him move freely in the air and travel without check or hindrance from clime to clime, irrespective of the media. He can penetrate through glass doors like the rays of light, and through adamant and steel like the currents of electricity or rays of radium. Shut him up in an air-tight compartment, his genius will still find food for itself.

That is why he thrives in the solitary desert of Sahara as well as in the giddy circles of pleasure-seekers in the Boulevards of Paris. He holds a *carte blanche* for every gathering and assemblage of people. In the solemnities of the church you may detect him in a corner with folded arms, closed eyes and lowered head; but the motion of his nostrils suggests as if he was inhaling the chantings of the Psalms rather than hearing them through the usual channel of the ears. His religious catholicism is such that you will find him in mosques, temples, gurudwaras and fire-temples as well. Nor is he absent from the frivolities and merriment of social functions. Watch him at a dinner depriving the diners of all appetite, or at a dance driving all merriment out of a girl who had promised herself a gay, if not a giddy, evening. He is every where. You will find him among the gamblers, the drinkers, the pleasure-seekers, the *litterateurs*, the politicians, the administrators and the theologians. But when he is among theologians he is simply unbearable.

He is not exactly of the same genus or species as man. But though you will easily distinguish a horse from a Zebra, you cannot distinguish him from a man. The difference does not lie so much in the outward appearance as in the texture of the mental fabric which lies within the hard shell of his head.

He has a vision, too shallow, yet mistakenly considered by him to penetrate every phenomenon of nature, all the various vicissitudes of fortune, and every chain of cause and effect of every incident that occurs in the world. His pretensions have no end. The philosophy of Schopenhauer and Kant, of Spinoza and Nietzsche, of Huxley and Spencer appears to be his daily food. With Shelly and Keats he has dived deep into the ocean of love. With Shakespeare and Goethe he is a master in the art of depicting all the phases of human nature. Hafiz and Khayyam seem to have been his boon companions in their drinking bouts. Valmiki and Kalidas must have been his next-door neighbours. He belongs to all the six Schools of Vedanta and to every sect established by any and every reformer of Hinduism or Islam or any other faith. The past and the present are all one to him. He knows every one included in the latest *Who's Who* and holds communion with every departed soul. His interest in the art of war is no less than in the art of peace. When he talks of the last war, it appears as though Hindenburg and Ludendorff and Foché are but children in strategy. Clemenceau and Lloyd George were not born when he was a pastmaster in diplomacy, and President Wilson's ideal of self-determination was an ingenuity of his own brain. He will talk of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha's achievements as though everything was done under his own eyes or at least under his own guidance.

It was he who had originated Non-Co-operation, and yet it was no other than he who first predicted its failure. He was the first to be khaddar-clad from top to toe, and to preach the Gospel of *Ahimsa*. And yet he is the loudest in shouting King George's *Jai*, and the first to justify the new Ordinance. He was an inveterate No-Changer and also the *dernier cri* in Swarajism. If consistency the virtue of an ass, inconsistency is his.

He alone is the symbol of straight-forwardness and sincerity and all that is honest and above-board in the world. All others are charlatans and cheats who have squandered public funds and betrayed the interests of the public. He hates the worship of great personalities and when he has succeed in breaking all such idols, as he aims at doing, he will not leave the temple empty and desolate, but put therein his idol of his own personality.

He is the only connoisseur in the world that understands art. He alone has the ear for music. He alone knows how to appreciate

good cookery. And he alone deserves popularity and is popular. He will make you feel that his presence will shed radiance into the darkest dwelling, while his absence will convert Paradise itself into a Hell. He is a lover of nature. In fact, Nature was made for him. When he sees flowers blossom in virgin profusion on every side, and songbirds trilling out their tremulous notes on twigs and branches of trees, bees humming in the honeyed cups of sweet-scented blossoms, and multi-coloured insects flitting through the rich foliage with merry buzzing, his eyes, ears, nose and face will all work in harmony as though his senses were absorbed in contemplating their profound beauty, and in finding out the reasons for their creation, though all these may be miles away from his comprehension.

In other words, wherever he is, he tries to be all and above all, and will pose as though there is nothing in the world, nothing in the recoude treasures of nature with which he is unfamiliar. He is the wonder of Ethnologist, and, in fact, the riddle of all "ists." Such is he. Call him what you please, he is above all nomenclature and defies all description. Unlike scientists who would give him a five-syllabled name, the world knows him by the simple, mono-syllabic name of "The Bore!"



Petty Larceny.

[Motto "What is your birthright, therefore steal it where ever you find it" *Rigmarole Veda or Travestied Traditions.*]

People are apt to think that man received woman from God solely in order that he might make a cook of her.

A woman always expects you to remember her birthday, but she also expects you to forget her age.

Every man has the love affairs he deserves.

Tramp (who has been handsomely tipped) "Thank you kindly lady, as soon as ever I seed yer, I says ter meself, there's a kind cart bea n under that plain face!"

A clergyman has invented an appliance for the cure of snoring. Better sermons, presumably.

The good die young or else outgrow it.

Be good and you will be happy, but you'll miss lots of fun.

A pessimist is one who is never happy unless he is miserable.

A man who never loses his temper does not deserve to have one.

If you can't make a man think as you do, try and make him do as you think.

Prespiration counts more than aspiration.

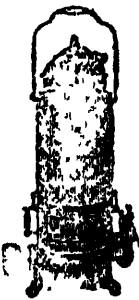
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About your homely looks?
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"The Council."

By The Hon. Mr. GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."
— *As You Like It.*

A large number of old subscribers of *The Comrade* have pressed us to reprint the humorous descriptions of Council Debates from its Gup columns. This they desire partly in order to revive old memories themselves and partly to introduce "the Hon. Mr. Gup" to the new generation which, although it is not unacquainted with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Sir Trevelyan Wynne, and Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, and had known the late Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, certainly did not know them as "The Bombay Duck," "Bootlair Saheb," "Suren," "Cheery Chitnis," "the Mild Hindu" and "Bhupen Babu" whose Council activities were chronicled in *The Comrade* perhaps with greater truth than accuracy. If a large enough number of intending purchasers send in names for registration and book their orders, we shall gladly reprint this lively chronicle and re-present the figures of those that had played their part on the Council stage from ten to fifteen years ago from the "Eiffel-towering personality" of the Hon. Mr. Long fellow to a tiny predecessor, of Lord Lytton "looking every inch a Lieutenant-Governor."

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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
THE WEEK -		MAHADEV'S ADDRESS	130
Mecca Blockaded	126	LEADING ARTICLES -	
Khilafat Delegation to Mecca	127	The Challenge to our Love	136
Egypt and Morocco	129	of Freedom	
Egyptian Crisis	130	YERREK	137
Boycott of Trotsky	131	A Copretto	138
		Our London Letter	140
		Mr. MacDonnell's Progress	141
		A Column	142
		ADVERTISEMENTS	143-144

The Week.

Mecca Blockaded.

THE *Daily Chronicle* special correspondent at Jeddah reports that owing to the failure of land and air offensive, King (O) Abdul Ali has decided to endeavour to starve out Mecca by means of blockade from three sides and no more food supplies will be sent thither to feed the civilians. The correspondent adds that the most active man in Jeddah at present is M. Khakimoff the Bolshevik Consul. The Bolsheviks, realising the importance of Jeddah as a base for propaganda amongst the Muslims of the world, including Egypt and the Sudan, have organised a monthly courier service between Jeddah and Moscow.

Khilafat Delegation to Mecca.

THE Hejaz Delegation, consisting of Maulana Abdul Maud Badauni, Maulana Syed Suleman Nadwi and Maulana Abdul Kadir Kasuri sailed for Hejaz on the 18th December by S. S. *Jhangir*, and received a hearty send off from thousands of the Musalmans of Bombay, including the office-bearers and workers of the Central Khilafat Committee.

Britain and Morocco.

IN the course of a general debate in the House of Commons prior to adjournment for Christmas, Commander Kenworthy (Liberal) raised the question of the situation in Morocco.

Mr. Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, pointed out that Spain's decision to withdraw was a deliberate decision of the Directory which thought a new direction should be given to the Spanish policy in Morocco and that *different methods should be adopted for asserting authority which was theirs (Italy's ours)*. He was not prepared to foreshadow what might be the attitude of the British Government in any series of contingencies which had not yet arisen. But such disturbances as had arisen in the Spanish area would not pass *unperceived or left unpreoccupied by the other nations of Europe (Italy's ours)*. Of course, the country most immediately interested was France, but the movement of this kind resulting in this case in military operations had repercussions far beyond the boundaries of the district wherein they had taken place. No Power with North-African interest could consider it alien in itself what was passing in any part of North Africa. If one had a trouble that trouble might be the cause of trouble for others.

Egyptian Crisis.

THE latest news received through Reuter's Agency from Cairo says that it is authoritatively stated that the Cabinet has definitely decided to dissolve the Egyptian Parliament. The King has also decreed the dissolving of the parliament.

Prince Omar Teyssoun in an interview declared that he consulted the representatives of all parties and suggested a meeting of their leaders to consider the question of their collaboration at this juncture. The Liberals and Nationalists agreed to his suggestion but a Zaghoulist representative, after consulting the Walid, said that the Walid saw no way in which it could collaborate with the other parties.

The Ministry of Interior has ordered the deportation from Egypt of Mr. Henry Rose, a strong supporter of Zaghlul with whom he appeared on political platforms.

Boycott of Trotsky.

THE Soviet triumvirate, says the Riga correspondent of *The Times*, has commenced a new and bitter campaign against Trotsky with the object of depriving him permanently of all real power. Trotsky, it may be recalled, recently was officially declared to be ill and was ordered to seek a warmer climate but he apparently is still at Moscow.

Mahatmaji's Address.

[Delivered by Mahatma Gandhi as the President of the 39th Session of the Indian National Congress, held at Belgaum.]

FRIENDS,

It was after much misgiving that I accepted the burden of the honour you have done me to-day. The unique honour for this year should have been bestowed upon Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who did such wonderful work both in Kenya and South Africa. But it was not to be. The developments both internal and external have necessitated my acceptance of the burden. I know that I shall have your support in my attempt to do justice to the high office to which you have called me.

At the outset, let me note with respectful feelings the deaths during the year of Bi-Amman, Sir Asutosh Mukerji, Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu, Dr. Subramaniam Iyer and Mr Dal Bahadur Giri at home, and of Messrs. Rustomjee and P. K. Naidu in South Africa. I tender in your name my respectful condolences to the bereaved families.

RETROSPECTIVE

From the September of 1920 the Congress has been principally an institution for developing strength from within. It has ceased to function by means of resolutions addressed to the Government for redress of grievances. It did so because it ceased to believe in the beneficial character of the existing system of government. The breach of faith with the Muslims of India was the first rude shock to the people's faith in the Government. The Rowlatt Act and O'Dwyerism culminating in the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, opened the eyes of the people to the true nature of the system. At the same time it was realised that the existence of the system depended upon the co-operation whether conscious or unconscious, and whether voluntary or forced, of the people. With the view therefore of mending or ending the system it was decided to try to begin withdrawing voluntary co-operation from the top. At the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1920 the boycott of Government titles, law-courts, educational institutions, legislative bodies and foreign cloth was resolved upon. All the boycotts were more or less taken up by the parties concerned. Those who could not or would not, retired from the Congress. I do not propose, to trace the chequered career of the Non-Cooperation movement. Though not a single boycott was anywhere near completion, every one of them had undoubtedly the effect of diminishing the prestige of the particular institution boycotted.

The most important boycott was the boycott of violence. Whilst it appeared at one time to be entirely successful, it was soon discovered that the non-violence was only skin deep. It was the passive non-violence of helplessness, not the enlightened non-violence of resourcefulness. The result was an eruption of intolerance against those who did not non-cooperate. This was violence of the subtler type. In spite, however, of this grave defect I make bold to say that the propaganda of non-violence checked the outbreak of physical violence which would certainly have broken out, had not Non-violent Non-Cooperation come into being. It is my deliberate conviction that Non-violent Non-Cooperation has given to the people a consciousness of their strength. It has brought to the surface the hidden powers in the people of resistance through suffering. It has caused an awakening among the masses which perhaps no other method could have.

Though, therefore, Non-violent Non-Cooperation has not brought us Swaraj, though it has brought about certain deplorable results and though the institutions that were sought to be boycotted are still flourishing, in my humble opinion, Non-violent Non-Cooperation as a means of attaining political freedom has come to stay and that even its partial adoption has brought us nearer Swaraj. There is no mistaking the fact that the capacity for suffering for the sake of a cause must advance it.

A HALT.

But we are face to face with a situation that compels us to cry halt. For whilst individuals hold firmly to their belief in Non-Cooperation, the majority of those who are immediately concerned have practically lost faith in it, with the exception of boycott of foreign cloth. Scores of lawyers have resumed practice. Some even regret having ever given it up. Many who had given up Councils have returned to them and the number of those who believe in Council-entry is on the increase. Hundreds of boys and girls who gave up Government schools and colleges have repented of their action and have returned to them. I hear that Government schools and colleges can hardly cope with the demand for admission. In these circumstances these boycotts cannot be worked as part of the National programme, unless the Congress is prepared to do without the classes directly affected. But I hold it to be just as impracticable to keep these classes out of the Congress as it would be now to keep the Non-Cooperators out. They must both remain in the Congress, without either party interfering with or hostilely criticising the other. What is applicable to Hindu-Muslim unity is, I feel, applicable to the unity among different political groups. We must tolerate each other and trust to time to convert the one or the other to the opposite belief. We must go further. We must plead with the Liberals and others who have seceded to rejoin the Congress. If Non-Cooperation is suspended, there is no reason why they should keep out. The advance must be from us Congressmen. We must cordially invite them and make it easy for them to come in.

You are perhaps now able to see why I entered into the agreement with the Swarajists.

FOREIGN CLOTH BOYCOTT

You will observe that one boycott has been retained. Out of regard for the sentiment of an English friend the word 'Boycott' has been changed in the agreement into 'refusal to use foreign cloth.' There is no doubt a bad odour about the word 'Boycott.' It usually implies hatred. So far as I am concerned, I have not intended the word to bear any such meaning. The Boycott has reference not to British but to foreign cloth. That boycott is not merely a right but a duty. It is as much a duty as boycott of foreign waters would be if they were imported to substitute the waters of the Indian rivers. This, however, is a digression.

What I wanted to say was that the agreement saves and emphasises the boycott of foreign cloth. For me it is an effective substitute for violent methods. Just as certain acts such as personal abuse, irritating conduct, lying, causing hurt and murder are symbols of violence, similarly courtesy, inoffensive conduct, truthfulness etc are symbols of non-violence. And so to me is boycott of foreign cloth a symbol of non-violence. Revolutionary crime is intended to exert pressure. But it is the insane pressure of anger and ill will. I contend that non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts, for that pressure comes from good-will and gentleness. Boycott of foreign cloth exerts such pressure. We import the largest amount of foreign cloth from Lancashire. It is also by far the largest of all our imports, sugar being next. Britain's chief interest centres round the Lancashire trade with India. It is the one thing more than any other that has ruined the Indian peasant and imposed partial idleness upon him by depriving him of the one supplementary occupation he had. Boycott of foreign cloth is, therefore, a necessity if he is to live. The plan, therefore, is not merely to induce the peasant to refuse to buy the cheap and nice-looking foreign fabric but also by teaching him to utilise

his spare hours in carding and spinning cotton and getting it woven by the village weavers to dress himself in khaddar so woven and thus to save him the cost of buying foreign and for that matter even Indian mill-made cloth. Thus boycott of foreign cloth by means of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, i.e., khaddar, not only saves the peasant's money but it enables us workers to render social service of a first class order. It brings us into direct touch with the villagers. It enables us to give them real political education and teach them to become self-sustained and self-reliant. Organisation of khaddar is thus infinitely better than Co-operative Societies or any other form of village organisation. It is fraught with the highest political consequence, because it removes the greatest immoral temptation from Britain's way. I call the Lancashire trade immoral, because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants. And as one immorality leads to another, the many proved immoral acts of Britain are traceable to this one immoral traffic. If, therefore, this one great temptation is removed from Britain's path by India's voluntary effort, it would be good for India, good for Britain and, as Britain is to-day the predominant world-power, good even for humanity.

I do not endorse the proposition that supply follows demand. On the contrary, demand is often artificially created by unscrupulous vendors. And if a nation is bound, as I hold it is, like individuals to comply with a code of moral conduct, then it must consider the welfare of those whose wants it seeks to supply. It is wrong and immoral for a nation to supply for instance intoxicating liquor to those who are addicted to drink. What is true of intoxicants is true of grain or cloth, if the discontinuance of their cultivation or manufacture in the country to which foreign grain or cloth are exported results in enforced idleness or penury. These latter hurt a man's soul and body just as much as intoxication. Depression is but excitement upside down and hence equally disastrous in its results and often more so because we have not yet learnt to regard as immoral or sinful the depression of idleness or penury.

BRITAIN'S DUTY.

It is then I hold the duty of Great Britain to regulate her exports with due regard to the welfare of India as it is India's to regulate her imports with due regard to her own welfare. That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values. The extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international commerce. And I must confess that my ambition is nothing less than to see international relations placed on a moral basis through India's efforts. I do not despair of cultivation of limited mass non-violence. I refuse to believe that the tendency of human nature is always downward.

The fruition of the boycott of foreign cloth through hand-spinning and khaddar is calculated not only to bring about a political result of the first magnitude, it is calculated also to make the poorest of India, whether men or women, conscious of their strength and make them partakers in the struggle for India's freedom.

FOREIGN VERSUS BRITISH

It is hardly necessary now to demonstrate the futility, not to say the violent nature, of boycott of British cloth or better still British goods as so many patriots have suggested. I am considering the boycott purely from the point of view of India's good. All British goods do not harm us. Some goods, such as English books, we need for our intellectual or spiritual benefit. As regards cloth, it is not merely British cloth that harms us, but all foreign cloth and for that matter to a lesser extent even mill-made cloth injures us. Boycott brought about anyhow of British cloth cannot yield the same results as such boycott brought about by hand-spinning and khaddar. This necessitates exclusion at least of all foreign cloth. The exclusion is not intended as a punishment. It is a necessity of national existence.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

But, say the critics, the spinning wheel has not taken, it is not exciting enough, it is an occupation only for women, it means a return to the middle ages, it is a vain effort against the majestic march of scientific knowledge for which machinery stands. In my humble opinion India's need is not excitement but solid work. For the millions solid work itself is excitement and tonic at the same time. The fact is that we have not given the spinning wheel enough trial. I am sorry to have to say that many of us have not given it a serious thought. Even the members of the All-India Congress Committee have failed to carry out the series of resolutions on hand-spinning which they themselves had passed from time to time. The majority of us have simply not believed in it. In the circumstances it is hardly just to say that spinning has failed for want of excitement about it. To say that it is merely an old woman's occupation is to ignore facts. Spinning mills are a multiplication of spinning wheels. They are managed by men. It is time that we got out of this superstition that some occupations are beneath the dignity of men. Under normal conditions no doubt spinning will be the occupation of the gentle sex. But the State of the future will always have to keep some men at the spinning wheel so as to make improvements in it within the limitations which as a cottage industry it must have. I must inform you that the progress the mechanism of the wheel has made would have been impossible, if some of us men had not worked at it and had not thought about it day and night.

MACHINERY.

I wish, too, you would dismiss from your minds the views attributed to me about machinery. In the first instance I am no more trying to present for national acceptance all my views on machinery, than I am presenting the whole of my belief in non-violence. The spinning wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery. My head daily bows in reverence to its unknown inventor. What I do resent is the wanton and wicked destruction of the one cottage industry of India that kept the wolf from the doors of thousands of homes scattered over a surface 1000 miles long and 1500 miles broad.

SPINNING FRANCHISE

You will not now wonder at my passion for the spinning wheel, nor will you wonder why I have ventured to present it for introduction in the franchise, and why Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandu Das have accepted it on behalf of the Swaraj Party. If I had my way, there would be no one in the Congress register who is unwilling to spin or who would not wear khaddar on all occasions. I am, however, thankful for what the Swaraj Party has accepted. The modification is a concession to weakness or want of faith. But it must serve as a spur to greater effort on the part of those who have full faith in the wheel and khaddar.

NO OTHER MESSAGE.

I have thus dilated upon the spinning wheel because I have no better or other message for the nation. I know no other effective method for the attainment of Swaraj if it is to be by 'peaceful and legitimate means'. As I have already remarked it is the only substitute for violence that can be accepted by the whole nation. I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving the boycott of foreign cloth. You will now easily perceive why I should be a useless guide for the Congress if my views about the spinning wheel are not acceptable to you. Indeed you would be justified in regarding me, as some friends do, as a hindrance to national progress, if you consider me to be wrong in my exposition of the doctrine underlying the spinning wheel. If it does not appeal to your heads as well as your hearts, you will be wanting in your duty in not rejecting my lead. Let it no longer be said, as Lord Willingdon very properly once said of us that we had not the strength and courage to say 'No'. Indeed your rejection of my proposal, if you do not believe in it, will be a step towards Swaraj.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

Hindu-Muslim unity is not less important than the spinning wheel. It is the breath of our life. I do not need to occupy much of your time on this question, because the necessity of it for Swaraj is almost universally accepted. I say 'almost' because I know some Hindus and some Musalmans who prefer the present condition of dependence on Great Britain if they cannot have either wholly Hindu or wholly Musalman India. Happily their number is small.

I share Maulana Shaukat Ali's robust optimism that the present tension is a mere temporary distemper. The Khilafat agitation in which Hindus made common cause with their Musalman brethren and the Non-Cooperation that followed it, caused an awakening among the hitherto slumbering masses. It has given a new consciousness to the classes as well as the masses. Interested persons, who were disappointed during the palmy days of Non-Cooperation, now that it has lost the charm of novelty, have found their opportunity and are trading upon the religious bigotry or the selfishness of both the communities. The result is written in the history of the feuds of the past two years. Religion has been travestied. Trifles have been dignified by the name of religious tenets which, the fanatics claim, must be observed at any cost. Economic and political causes have been brought into play for the sake of fomenting trouble. The culminating point was reached in Kohat. The tragedy was aggravated by the callous indifference of the local authority. I must not tarry to examine the causes or to distribute the blame. I have not the material for the task even if I was minded for it. Suffice it to say that the Hindu refugees fled for fear of their lives. There is in Kohat an overwhelming Musalman majority. They have, in so far as is possible under a foreign domination, effective political control. It is up to them, therefore, to show that the Hindus are as safe in the midst of their majority, as they would be if the whole population of Kohat was Hindu. The Musalmans of Kohat may not rest satisfied till they have brought back to Kohat every one of the refugees. I hope that the Hindus would not fall into the trap laid for them by the Government and would resolutely decline to go back till the Musalmans of Kohat have given them full assurances as to their lives and property.

The Hindus can live in the midst of an overwhelming Musalman majority only if the latter are willing to receive and treat them as friends and equals, just as Musalmans, if in a minority, must depend for honourable existence in the midst of a Hindu majority on the latter's friendliness. A Government can give protection against thieves and robbers but not even a Swaraj Government will be able to protect people against a wholesale boycott by one community of another. Governments can deal with abnormal situations. When quarrels become a normal thing of life, it is called civil war and parties must fight it out themselves. The present Government being foreign, in reality a veiled military rule has resources at its command for its protection against any combination we can make and has, therefore, the power, if it has the will, to deal with our class feuds. But no Swaraj Government with any pretension to being a popular Government can possibly be organised and maintained on a war footing. A Swaraj Government means a Government established by the free joint will of Hindus, Musalmans and others. Hindus and Musalmans, if they desire Swaraj, have perforce to settle their differences amicably.

The Unity Conference at Delhi has paved the way for a settlement of religious differences. The Committee of the All Parties' Conference is among other things expected to find a workable and just solution of the political differences not only between Hindus and Musalmans but between all classes and all castes, sects or denominations. Our goal must be removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services must be likewise impartially manned by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the

past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

UNTOUCHABILITY.

Untouchability is another hindrance to Swaraj. Its removal is just as essential for Swaraj as the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity. This is an essentially Hindu question and Hindus cannot claim or take Swaraj till they have restored the liberty of the suppressed classes. They have sunk with the latter's suppression. Historians tell us that the Aryan invaders treated the original inhabitants of Hindustan precisely as the English invaders treat us, if not much worse. If so, our helotry is a just retribution for our having created an untouchable class. The sooner we remove the blot the better it is for us Hindus. But the priests tell us that untouchability is a divine appointment. I claim to know something of Hinduism. I am certain that the priests are wrong. It is a blasphemy to say that God set apart any portion of humanity as untouchable. And Hindus who are Congressmen have to see to it that they break down the barrier at the earliest possible moment. The Vaikom satyagrahis are showing us the way. They are carrying on their battle with gentleness and firmness. They have patience, courage and faith. Any movement in which these qualities are exhibited becomes irresistible.

I would, however, warn the Hindu brethren against the tendency which one sees now-a-days of exploiting the suppressed classes for a political end. To remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe to Hinduism and themselves.

The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior castes. There is no vice that is special to the untouchables, not even dirt and insanitation. It is our arrogance which blinds us 'superior' Hindus to our own blemishes and which magnifies those of our down-trodden brethren whom we have suppressed and whom we keep under suppression. Religions like nations are being weighed in the balance. God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon all who wait upon God. That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence. God is Light, not darkness. God is love, not hate. God is truth, not untruth. God alone is Great. We His creatures are but dust. Let us be humble and recognise the place of the lowliest of His creatures. Krishna honoured Sudama in his rags as he honoured no one else. Love is the root of religion or sacrifice and this perishable body is the root of self or irreligion, says Tulsidas. Whether we win Swaraj or not, the Hindus have to purify themselves before they can hope to revive the Vedic philosophy and make it a living reality.

SWARAJ SCHEME.

But the spinning wheel, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability are only means to an end. The end we do not know. For me it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life. But I have long professed my conversion to the view pressed upon the public by Babu Bhagvandas that the public must know the end, not vaguely but precisely. They must know the full definition of Swaraj, i.e., the scheme of Swaraj which all India wants and must fight for. Happily the Committee appointed by the All-Parties' Conference is charged with that mission and let us hope that the Committee will be able to produce a scheme that will be acceptable to all parties. May I suggest for its consideration the following points?

1. The qualification for the franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work, such for example as suggested for the Congress Franchise. Literary or property test has proved to be elusive. Manual work gives an opportunity to all who wish, to take part in the Government and the well-being of the State.

2. The ruinous military expenditure should be curtailed to the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times.

3 Administration of justice should be cheapened and with that end in view the final court of appeal should be not in London but in Delhi. Parties to civil suits must be compelled in the majority of cases to refer their disputes to arbitration, the decisions of these Panchayats to be final except in cases of corruption or obvious misapplication of law. Multiplicity of intermediate courts should be avoided. Case law should be abolished and the general procedure should be simplified. We have slavishly followed the cumbrous and worn-out English procedure. The tendency in the Colonies is to simplify the procedure so as to make it easy for litigants to plead their own cases.

4 Revenue from intoxicating liquors and drugs should be abolished.

5. Salaries of the Civil and Military Service should be brought down to a level compatible with the general condition of the country.

6 There should be re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis with as complete autonomy as possible for every province for its internal administration and growth.

7 Appointment of a commission to examine all the monopolies given to foreigners and, subject to the findings of the commission, full guarantees to be given for all vested rights justly acquired.

8 Full guarantee of their status to the Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government subject to the right of asylum to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in Self governing India.

9. Repeal of all arbitrary powers.

10. The highest post to be opened to all who may be otherwise fit. Examinations for the Civil and Military Services to be in India.

11. Recognition of complete religious freedom to various denominations subject to mutual forbearance.

12 The official language for provincial government legislatures and courts, within a definite period, to be the vernacular of the province, of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal, to be Hindustani, the script to be either Devanagari or Persia. The language of the Central Government and of the Central Legislature to be also Hindustani. The language of international diplomacy to be English.

I trust you will not laugh at what may appear to you to be extravagance of thought in the foregoing sketch of some of the requirements of Swaraj as I would have it. We may not have the power to-day to take or receive or do the things I have mentioned. Have we the will? Let us at least cultivate the desire. Before I leave this highly attractive, because speculative, theme let me assure the Committee in charge of the drafting of a Swaraj scheme, that I care for my suggestion no more attention than it would give to any single individual's. I have incorporated them in my address only to gain greater currency for them than they would perhaps otherwise receive.

INDEPENDENCE

The above sketch presupposes the retention of the British connection on perfectly honourable and absolutely equal terms. But I know that there is a section among Congressmen who want under every conceivable circumstance complete independence of Britain. They will not have even an equal partnership. In my opinion if the British Government mean what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of severance on the British people. The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent States warring one against another but a federation of friendly inter-dependent States. The consummation of that event may be far off. I

want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence. It should rest with Britain to say that she will have no real alliance with India. I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence. Any scheme that I would frame, while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire, would be that of alliance and not of independence without alliance. I would urge every Congressman not to be insistent on independence in each and every case, not because there is anything impossible about it, but because it is wholly unnecessary till it has become perfectly manifest that Britain really means subjugation in spite of her declaration to the contrary.

THE SWARAJ PARTY

So far, then, I have considered the contents of the agreement and the general questions arising from it. Not much need be said about the status of equality given to the Swaraj Party. I wish I could have avoided it, not because the Party is not worthy, but because I do not share its views about Council-entry. But if I must remain in the Congress and even lead it, I must recognise facts as they are. It was easy enough for me to go out of the Congress or to decline the honour of presiding. But it was not, so I thought and still think, in the interest of the country for me to take that step. The Swaraj Party represents, if not a majority, at least a strong and growing minority in the Congress. If I was not to divide the Congress on the issue of its status, I was bound to agree to its conditions so long as they were not in conflict with my conscience. They are not in my opinion, unreasonable. The Swarajists want to use the name of the Congress for their policy. A formula had to be found for their doing so without their pledging or binding the No-changers to their policy. One of the ways of doing it was to give it the authority and the responsibility both financial and executive with regard to the framing and the prosecution of their policy. The Congress as a whole could not guide that policy without sharing the responsibility. And as I could not take the responsibility and as I apprehend no No-changer can I could not be party to shaping the policy, nor could I shape it without my heart in it. An I heart can only go where the heart is. I know that the sole authority to the Swaraj Party to use the name of the Congress in regard to the Council programme makes somewhat awkward the position of the other parties wishing to join the Congress. But I fear it is inevitable. The Swaraj Party cannot be expected to surrender the advantage it possesses. After all it wants the advantage not for itself but for the service of the country. All parties have or can have that ambition or no other. I hope to relate that the others will join the Congress and work from within to affect the course of the country's politics. Dr. Bhabha has led the way in that direction. I know that she would have many things done otherwise, but she is content to come in hoping to bring round the electorate to her view by working within the Congress. The No-changers, in my humble opinion, vote for the agreement with a clear conscience. The only national programme jointly to be worked by all the parties is Khaddar, Hindu-Muslim unity and, for the Hindus, removal of touchability. Is not this after all what they want?

PURELY SOCIAL REFORMS

It has been suggested that this programme turn the Congress into a purely social reform organisation. I beg to differ from that view. Everything that is absolutely essential for Swaraj is more than merely social work and must be taken up by the Congress. It is not suggested that the Congress should confine its activity for all time to this work only. But it is suggested that the Congress should for the coming year concentrate the whole of its energy on the work of construction or as I have otherwise described it, the work of internal growth.

Nor does the agreement exhaust the list of constructive items that the Congress must handle. Those I am about to mention are

of the highest importance, but they, being non-contentious and not absolutely essential for Swaraj as the three foregoing items, find no mention in the agreement.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

One such is the maintenance of national educational institutions. Probably the public do not know that next to khaddar the running national educational institutions has been the most successful. These cannot be given up so long as even a few pupils are left. It must be a point of honour with the respective provinces to keep up their colleges and schools. Suspension of Non Cooperation should not have any injurious effect on these institutions. On the contrary, greater effort than ever before should be made to maintain and strengthen them. Most provinces have their national schools and colleges. Gujarat alone has a National University maintained at an annual cost of Rs. 1,00,000 and having control of 3 Colleges and 70 Schools with 9,000 pupils. It has acquired its own ground at Ahmedabad and has already spent Rs. 2,05,323 in buildings. Throughout the country, fine and silent work has been done by the Non-cooperating students. There is a great and noble sacrifice. From a worldly standpoint they have perhaps lost the prospect of brilliant careers. I suggest to them, however, that from the national standpoint they have gained more than they have lost. They left their schools or colleges, because it was through them that the youth of the nation were insulted and humiliated in the Punjab. The first link in the chain of our bondage is forged in these institutions. The corresponding national institutions, however inefficiently managed they may be, are the factories where the first instruments of our freedom are forged. After all, the hope of the future centres round the boys and girls studying in these national institutions. I, therefore, regard the upkeep of these institutions as a first charge on provincial funds. But these institutions to be truly national must be clubs for promoting real Hindu-Muslim Unity, they must be also nurseries for training Hindu boys and girls to regard untouchability as a blot upon Hinduism and a crime against humanity. They should be training schools for expert spinners and weavers. If the Congress retains its belief in the potency of the spinning wheel and khaddar, one has a right to expect these institutions to supply the science of the spinning wheel. They should be also factories for khaddar production. This is not to say that the boys and the girls are not to have any literary training. But I do maintain that the training of the hand and the heart must go hand-in-hand with that of the head. The quality and the usefulness of a national school or college will be measured not by the brilliance of the literary attainments of its scholars but by the strength of the national character, and in handling the carding bow, the spinning wheel and the loom. Whilst I am most anxious that no national school or college should be closed, I should have not the slightest hesitation in closing down a school or college, that is indifferent to the admission of non-Hindu boys or that shuts its door against the entry of untouchables or that has not carding and spinning as an indispensable part of the training. Time is past when we can be satisfied with the word 'national' on the sign-board of the school and the knowledge that it is not affiliated to any Government University or is not otherwise controlled by the Government. I must also not omit to point out that the tendency in many national institutions still is to neglect the vernaculars and Hindustani. Many teachers have not realised the necessity of imparting instruction through the vernaculars or Hindustani. I rejoice to observe that Sjt. Gangadhar Rao has arranged a meeting of national educationists to exchange experiences on the several points mentioned by me and to evolve, if possible, a general plan of education and action.

UNEMPLOYED NON COOPERATORS

This is perhaps the proper place to mention those lawyers who have given up practice, and school masters and other Government employees who have given up Government service at the call of the nation. I know that there are many such men

who find it hard to make the two ends meet. They deserve national support. The Khadi Board and the national schools and colleges are the two services that can take in almost an unlimited number of honest and industrious men who are willing to 'earn and labour and are satisfied with a modest allowance. I observe a tendency not to accept any remuneration for national service. The desire to serve without remuneration is praiseworthy, but all cannot satisfy it. Every labourer is worthy of his hire. No country can produce thousands of unpaid whole-time workers. We must, therefore, develop an atmosphere in which a patriot would consider it an honour to serve the country and accept an allowance for such service.

INTOXICANTS.

Another item of national importance is the liquor and the opium traffic. Had the wave of enthusiasm that swept across the country in 1921 in the cause of temperance remained non-violent, we would to-day have witnessed a progressive improvement. But unfortunately our picketing degenerated into violence, veiled when it was not open. Picketing had, therefore, to be abandoned and the liquor shops and opium dens began to flourish as before. But you will be pleased to hear that the temperance work has not died out altogether. Many workers are still continuing their quiet and self-less service in the cause of temperance. We must, however, realise that we would not be able to eradicate the evil till we have Swaraj. It is no matter of pride to us that our children are being educated out of the revenue derived from this immoral source. I would almost forgive the Council-entry by Congressmen if they would boldly sweep out this revenue even though education may have to be starved. Nothing of the kind should happen if they will insist on a corresponding reduction in the military expenditure.

BENGAL REPRESSION.

You will observe that in the foregoing paragraphs I have confined myself to the internal developments.

But the external circumstances, and among them chiefly the acts of our rulers, are affecting our destiny no less surely (though it may be adversely) than the internal development. We may turn them to advantage if we will or we may succumb to them to our disadvantage. The latest act of the rulers is the repression commenced in Bengal. The All-Parties Conference condemned it in no uncertain terms. The Conference had hesitation in saying that the blow was aimed at the Bengal Swaraj Party. But I have none. I have been to Calcutta and had the opportunity of meeting men representing a variety of opinion and I came to the conclusion that the blow was aimed at the Swaraj Party. The opinion is confirmed by the speeches since delivered by Lords Lytton and Reading. The defence they have offered is wholly unconvincing. It is possible only in a place like India where public opinion counts for little or nothing. Lord Lytton's conditions of release are an insult to our intelligence. Their Excellencies beg the question when they tell us that the situation warranted the Ordinance and the action under the Regulation of 1818. The national contention is --

1. That the situation they describe has not been proved to exist;
2. That assuming that the situation does exist, the remedy is worse than the disease;
3. That the ordinary law contains enough powers for dealing with the situation, and lastly
4. That even if extraordinary powers were necessary they should have been taken from the legislature which is of their own creation.

The speeches of their Excellencies evade these issues altogether. The nation, which has had considerable experience of unsupported statements of the Government, will not accept them as gospel truth. Their Excellencies know that we cannot and will not believe their

statements not because they are wilfully untruthful, but because the sources of their information have often been discovered to be tainted. Their assurances are therefore a mockery of the people. The speeches are almost a challenge to us to do our worst. But we must not be irritated or be impatient. Repression, if it does not cow us down, if it does not deter us from our purpose, can but hasten the advent of Swaraj, for it puts us on our mettle and evokes the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage in the face of danger. Repression does for a true man or a nation what fire does for gold. In 1921 we answered repression with Civil Disobedience and invited the Government to do its worst. But to-day we are obliged to eat the humble pie. We are not ready for Civil Disobedience. We can but prepare for it. Preparation for Civil Disobedience means discipline, self-restraint, non-violent but resisting spirit, cohesion and above all scrupulous and willing obedience to the known laws of God and such laws of man as are in furtherance of God's laws. But unfortunately we have neither discipline nor self-restraint enough for our purpose, we are either violent or our non-violence is unresisting, we have not enough cohesion and the laws that we obey, whether of God or man, we obey compulsorily. As between Hindus and Musalmans we witness a daily defiant breach of laws both of God and man. This is no atmosphere for Civil Disobedience—the one matchless and invincible weapon at the disposal of the oppressed. The alternative is undoubtedly violence. We seem to have the atmosphere for it. Hindu-Muslim fights are our training for it. And those who believe that India's deliverance lies through violence are entitled to gloat over the free fights that take place between us. But I say to those who believe in the cult of violence. 'You are retarding India's progress. If you have any pity or friendly feeling for the starving millions know that your violence will do them no service. Those whom you seek to depose are better armed and infinitely better organised than you are. You may not care for your own lives, but you dare not disregard those of your countrymen who have no desire to die a martyr's death. You know that this Government believes in Jallianwalla Bagh massacres as a legitimate means of self-defence. Whatever may be true of other countries, there is no chance of the cult of violence flourishing in this country. India is admittedly the best repository and exponent of non-violence. Will you not better devote your lives if you sacrifice them in the cause of non-violence?

I know, however, that my appeal to the violent revolutionaries will be just as fruitless as any such appeal to the violent and anarchical Government is likely to be.

We must, therefore, find the remedy and demonstrate to both the violent Government and the violent revolutionaries that there is a force that is more effective than their violence.

REPRESSION A SYMPTOM.

I regard this repression as a chronic symptom of a chronic disease. The European dominance and Asiatic subjection is the formula. Sometimes it is stated still more cryptically as White vs. Black. Kipling miscalled the white man's yoke as the 'white man's burden.' In the Malaya peninsula the colour bar that was thought to be temporary has now almost become a permanent institution. The Mauritius planter must get Indian labour without let or hindrance.

The Kenya Europeans successfully lord it over Indians who have a prior right to be there. The Union of South Africa would today drive out every Indian if it safely could, in total disregard of past obligations. In all these cases the Government of India and the Imperial Government are not helpless; they are unwilling or not so insistent as they ought to be on the protection of Indian settlers. The Government of India have not shown even the decency to publish the report of its own Commission on Fiji.

The attempt to crush the indomitable spirit of the Akalis is a symptom of the same disease. They have poured their blood like

water for the sake of a cause they hold as dear as life itself. They may have erred. If they have, it is they who have bled in the process. They have hurt no one else. Nankana Sahib, Guruka-Bagh and Jaito will bear witness to their courage and their mute sufferings and martyrdom. But the Governor of the Punjab is reported to have vowed that he will crush the Akalis.

One hears that repression is crushing the Burmese spirit.

Egypt fares no better than we do. A mad Egyptian kills a British officer,—certainly a detestable crime. The punishment not only a detestable crime but it is an outrage upon humanity. Egypt has nearly lost all it got. A whole nation has been mercilessly punished for the crime of man. It may be that the murder had the sympathy of the Egyptians. Would that justify terrorism by a power well able to protect its interests without it?

The repression in Bengal is, therefore, not an extraordinary thing. We must treat its periodic eruption in some shape or other or in some province or other, as our normal condition till we come to our own.

WELD FOR SANCTION.

The Congress, therefore, to be worthy of its trust must devise a sanction to back its demands. Before we can forge the sanction, we Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis etc. must unite and so should Swarajists, No-changers, Liberals, Home-rulers, Muslim Leaguers and others. If we can but speak with a united voice and know our own mind it would be well. If we can develop the power to keep foreign cloth from our land, it would be better. We are ready then for the sanction.

MY FAITH

Let me state my faith, as a Congressman wishing to keep the Congress intact, I advise suspension of Non-Cooperation for I see that the nation is not ready for it. But as an individual, I cannot, will not, do so as long as the Government remains what it is. It is not merely a policy with me, it is an article of faith. Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. It is my *Kalpdrum*—my *Jam-i-Jam*—the Universal Provider. Satyagraha is search for Truth, and God is Truth. *Ahimsa* or Non-violence is the light that reveals that Truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of that Truth. This Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Kheda, or Champaran and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore, I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded, but not to the extent we had hoped and desired. I do not despair. On the contrary, I believe that India will come to her own in the near future, and that only through Satyagraha. The proposed suspension is part of the experiment. Non-Cooperation need never be resumed if the programme sketched by me can be fulfilled. Non-violent Non-Cooperation in some form or other, whether through the Congress or without it, will be resumed if the programme fails. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate Truth. Let us all strive to be perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest among us. For Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within. It is latent in every one of us. Like Swaraj it is our birthright. Let us know it.

BANDE-MATARAM

The Comrade.

The Challenge to our Love of Freedom.

We have read Mahatma Gandhi's Presidential Address more than once, not because there is anything startlingly new in it or anything that was not clear enough on the very first reading. He has only one message for the nation, and that he gave when he called upon it to non-cooperate with this alien Government. Far from enlarging that message he has, in fact, shortened it; because while consenting to or rather recognising the fact of the suspension of other items of Non-Cooperation as part of the national programme, he now calls upon the nation to concentrate on Hindu-Muslim unity, the removal of Untouchability and the production and use of Khaddar for the emancipation of India. We have read his presidential address more than once, because after the first reading it failed to grip us. Like the athlete, who would not permit an ounce of fat to encumber him without giving him additional strength, Mahatma Gandhi does not tolerate unnecessary rhetoric. He is to that extent an ascetic in his writing, just as he is to a great extent an ascetic in the matter of food and clothing and in fact in his entire way of living. In writing his address he has practised this asceticism even more rigorously than is habitual with him, and above his usual economy of words there is apparent a deliberate restraint as regards the use of sentiment. But his address improves on acquaintance, and we would ask our readers to read it over and over again until it soaks into them and they realise what it is that the Mahatma means to convey to them. Without using words suggestive of an ultimatum, he still presents today an ultimatum to the nation. We know how distressed the Mahatma was when the Associated Press converted his "helplessness," on hearing the details of the Kohat Tragedy which induced him to undertake his hazardous fast of twenty-one days, into "hopelessness." He is the last man to lose hope, and nothing suggestive of despair would be a fitting title for the address he is delivering today at Belgaum; otherwise we would have called it "A Forlorn Hope." But if it is not that, it is emphatically his challenge to our much-vaunted love of freedom. And if there is any Indian who claims that he has a true sense of his present slavery and hates his chains, then we are convinced he can have no alternative but to take up this challenge and to prove by the end of the year 1925 through his work on the lines recommended by Mahatma Gandhi that he loved freedom like righteousness and hated slavery like iniquity.

II. JUSTIFICATION OF NON-COOPERATION.

Mahatma Gandhi cannot offer a better justification of Non-Cooperation, which so many people foolishly think he is giving up, than by stating at the very outset of his address that "from the September of 1920 the Congress has been principally an institution for developing strength from within." It has certainly ceased to function by means of resolutions addressed to the Government for redress of grievances. These resolutions were nothing more than the petitions dictated by our weakness unless, of course, we did not know that the real character of the existing system of Government was not beneficial. The party or parties in India, that ask us to confine our activities to the so-called constitutionalism, have no justification for such a slogan but that of a belief in the beneficial character of the present system. If they still believe in that, they are fully justified in passing resolutions for the redress of their grievances and expecting results from such a barren procedure. But Liberals like Mr. Shaari and Mr. Chintamani do not seem to believe in that beneficial character any more than Mahatma Gandhi or we ourselves. That is why we cannot understand their self-denying ordinance which confines their activities to the narrow circle of a constitution which they did not frame and

which they cannot alter but which their political opponents, as well as ours, have deliberately devised and which they mean to maintain in all its narrowness as long as they can do it. The Swarajists do not swear by the constitution that has been imposed upon them from the outside, but they claim that they will take advantage of such opportunities, as even this constitution offers, of compelling the Government to come to terms with them. With regard to such a radical modification of it as would give us Swaraj, the only excuse that we can plead for them is that of self-deception. We maintain that the Government may be vexed by their obstructionist tactics, but it cannot be brought to its knees unless in the words of Mahatma Gandhi the nation develops strength from within. This it will not do by their sparring in the Councils with officials and with the latter's non-official supporters. The whole problem before the country is to devise means for the development of national strength from within, and the Mahatma's conclusion is that if there is any alternative to the use of the knife and the revolver and the bomb, it is Charkha which alone makes it possible for us to boycott foreign cloth that impoverishes us and, of course, the suspension of boycotts by the nation which the Mahatma has been forced to recognise. The Mahatma's message for 1925, then, is the message of the Charkha, and we beseech all India to understand its implications.

III. NON-VIOLENCE

As all the world knows, and as even his opponents acknowledge, non-violence is the essential principle of Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings; and he has always taught his countrymen that even if they are not convinced that non-violence is the only proper creed, they should at least give up all thought of violence for political purposes and adopt non-violence as their policy. We are among those that believe war to be a great evil, but we also believe that there are worse things than war and that a nation's slavery is one of them. Ordinarily war must not be resorted to by ourselves; but when it is forced upon us by an enemy that believes in no other argument than that of force, we believe that we must not shrink from war but must defend ourselves against him and use all the force we can command, force without stint and without cessation, till in the language of the Quran "war hath dropped her weapons" and peace and persuasion resume their sway over men's minds. We, however, entirely agree with Mahatma Gandhi that non-violence is the only proper policy for India to adopt today for her emancipation. We can achieve victory without violence. More than that, the use of violence for a nation of 320 millions people should be a matter of reproach to it. Finally, victory achieved with violence cannot but be the victory of the fighting classes. Swaraj, to be the *raj* of all, must have been won through the willing sacrifice of all. If this is not so, we shall have to depend for its maintenance as well on the prowess of the fighting classes which we must not do. Swaraj must be won by the minimum sacrifice of the maximum number and not by the maximum sacrifice of the minimum number. And, since we believe that the charkha requires the minimum sacrifice of the maximum number while the sword requires the maximum sacrifice of the minimum number, we have agreed that the nation should keep its sword, such as it is, unsheathed but must work its charkha for all it is worth. Knowing the possibilities of charkha we do not hanker after violence, and this is our final answer to those who always love to misrepresent others when it serves their purpose. Now Mahatma Gandhi's standard of non-violence, to which he required all national volunteers at Ahmedabad in 1921 to pledge themselves, is a very high one; for he requires Indians to be non-violent not only in deed but also in word and even in thought and intent. According to this standard, only too many of his countrymen have failed during the last three years; but it is the success that he has achieved in his preaching which surprises us more than the violence of which we have had some exhibition. When the guilt of Chauri-chaura and similar unfortunate

occurrences is judged, it is necessary to take into consideration not only that which was done but also that which had been resisted. Never before in the annals of India have the people felt as intensely as they have done since the dawn of Non-Cooperation, and the marvel is not that the fury of the mob has resulted in so much bloodshed but that the manhood of India has been successfully revived with so little of it. We challenge any one to show another instance in the history of mankind where hundreds of millions of people have been roused to stand up for their liberties and have remained so peaceful as the people of India. There is no country in Europe with all its cold frog-blood that would not have experienced a deluge of blood in like circumstances. That India has escaped such a deluge is due to Mahatma Gandhi and to his fellow-workers. The Mahatma embarrasses his followers and fellow-workers only too often with his sweeping and unqualified admissions. We are, however, glad that in his address he acknowledges that the propaganda of non violence checked the outbreak of physical violence which would certainly have broken out, had Non-violent Non-Cooperation not come into being. He is perhaps too hard when he says that the most important boycott demanded by the Non-Cooperation, namely, the boycott of violence, though it appeared to be at one time entirely successful, was non-violence that was only skin-deep. It was certainly more than that; and although it was to a great extent passive and born of helplessness, it was nevertheless genuine and effective as far as it went. And we disagree with him when he says that it was due to Non-Cooperation that there was an eruption of intolerance against those who did not cease to co-operate. Elsewhere he has said that Hindu-Muslim riots are the result of the imperfect Non-Cooperation of his followers. To us the truth rather seems to be that the people were in earnest and had not acquired enough self-control to keep their intolerance of Non-Cooperators always in check. As regards Hindu-Muslim riots, we doubt if any of his followers have participated in them. It is true that some of those, whose wranglings in the newspapers have been really at the bottom of many of these unfortunate occurrences, still claim to be his followers; but these have only countenanced violence indirectly. They have not directly participated in it themselves.

In any case, what is necessary is that we should rigidly practise non-violence and set better example to the masses than we have yet done. Our war even against the existing system of government must be a war without an enemy, and we should certainly practice far more tolerance towards each other, whether those opposed to us are No-changers or Swarajists and whether they are Hindus or Muslims. But we deprecate the fashion that there seems to be in some No-changers' circles of suggesting that the Swarajists are any more in love with violence than the No-changers themselves. Nor do we believe that there is likely to be any extraordinary recrudescence of violence in India for political purposes. Our imperfect Non-Cooperation not having brought us Swaraj, the patient, who had resorted to violence before but had given it up on the commencement of Non-violent Non-Cooperation, may naturally be inclined to resort to violence once more, though we can expect no better results from such violence today than were obtained in the past. Violence requires courage, however much we may characterise crimes of violence as cowardly, and there is no evidence of any great excess of courage today among Indians to warrant us to expect greater resort to violence on the part of the politically-minded people in India. The fact is that at Bardoli the Mahatma asked us to drop violence, but fear even of the consequences of Non-violent Non-Cooperation and its discomforts and inconveniences made us drop Non-Cooperation instead. This is our own reason of the situation as distinct from the Mahatma's; nevertheless we do think that the resentment, which is certain to be generated by otherwise unproductive and sterile debates in the legislatures, will not help us in the

creation of that atmosphere which we need for the universalisation of the charkha. And if the Swarajists do not give up Council-work, which we certainly do not expect them to do at this stage, it is all the more necessary for them to emphasise that they think that violence will only retard progress and not accelerate it. We do not, however, wish to preach perfection to them, and in the matter of non-violence we do not consider their leaders like Messrs. Nehru and Das stand in need of any No-changer's advice. But we would ask their Maharathi-speaking conferrers, whose unwillingness to spin is well-known, to consider most carefully the proposition that charkha is the only possible substitute for the knife and the revolver and the bomb. We can understand if they think that, by opposing the bureaucracy in the Councils and forcing it to come out the open as force naked and unashamed, they will produce enough excitement in the country to increase the forces of violence and give the believers in violence a better chance. But if like us they have given up all thought of India's emancipation through violence, and they also think that at any rate in her present state such enterprises are doomed to failure and would only retard our progress, then they must consider what good their Council wranglings are expected to do and how they can thereby develop the nation's strength from within.

IV. THE CHARKHA.

In our issue of the 28th November we have discussed at sufficient length the economic drain due to the use of foreign cloth and the impoverishment of our peasantry the life of which, since there is no charkha now in the peasant's cottage, is a long-drawn question between a crop and a crop. We have shown how on that peasantry in the last resort not only we but the Swarajists also rely; and we hope we have proved that the only cure for its economic debility is its employment in the slack season of agriculture in the production of khaddar, as foreign cloth is by far our largest import. And as most of it comes from Great Britain herself, the production of khaddar by our peasantry will not only cure its own economic debility but will also improve the economic equilibrium of the country at large and will at the same time affect the nation that is keeping us in such slavish subjection to itself. What other weapon, we ask, can do all these things at one and the same time? But the peasantry is most unlikely to take to the charkha once more in large enough numbers after all these years, unless it is assured by the patronage of the classes of ready sale for its produce, and unless we advertise this cure of its debility by taking a little of it ourselves. If we had Swaraj already and could shut out foreign cloth by means of the tariff which is an exercise of economic compulsion, we could assure the khaddar producers in the cottages that a good market existed for their wares, but even then we doubt if we could induce the cottager to produce khaddar and have the supply ready by artificially creating for it a demand in the country. In any case we have not yet got Swaraj, and khaddar we are discussing just at present as a means to the attainment of that end and not as an end in itself. We are, therefore, reduced to the single alternative of the classes spinning in order to induce the masses to produce khaddar.

Figures have often been published to prove two things. One of them is that the mills by themselves cannot shut out all foreign cloth even if they can help us, which obviously they cannot, in distributing wealth among the peasants and thus curing their economic debility. The next thing that these figures go to prove is that khaddar together with mill-cloth will suffice to close the door of India on foreign cloth. Obviously then we cannot do without the production of khaddar and without the spinning of the classes as an inducement to the masses to produce it. The Mahatma's acceptance of the presidentship of the Congress and his exposition in his address of what he desires and hopes is, therefore, nothing short of what we have called it as a challenge to every Indian's claim

that he loves his country and the freedom of his country. He deals sufficiently and exhaustively, though as usual extremely briefly, with the objections of the critics and it is not necessary to repeat what he has said. To his observation with regard to the criticism that the spinning wheel is not exciting enough: "for the millions, solid work itself is an excitement and tonic at the same time," we would only add that things even duller and more insipid than the charkha would be more exciting than the strongest of strong drinks to one who only understood that they provided the one chance of freedom that remained for him and his nation of 320 millions. We ask, if there is one lover of excitement in India, be he gambler, be he imbibor of spirituous liquors, whom the biggest stakes and the fiercest potions now fail to excite, who will not find the new excitement he needs for his jaded being in a thing that has some chance, where none other exists, of breaking the chains of a nation that constitutes a fifth of the whole of humanity?

We believe the charkha has this chance and we want the whole of India to become charkha-mad during the year of the Mahatma's presidency. And if those of the Swarajists, who are not unwilling to spin, can help us while doing their own Council-work undisturbed to spread the infection of charkha-madness all over the country, then we think the agreement, which the Mahatma has signed at Calcutta and for the acceptance of which he pleads in his address, will be amply justified. But if a party proud of its discipline just secures from a majority of its members, unwilling to spin, twenty-four thousand yards each of handspun yarn purchased from the bazaar to enable them to take part in the Congress voting; even if a minority of its members contributes yarn of its own spinning, then we fear the document signed at Calcutta would be a scrap of paper of less value than the paper itself. But even in that case we shall ourselves remain charkha-mad, and we want to urge every No-changer to go on as if the Swarajists did not exist; and to try to infect the whole of the country with his own charkha madness he must go in blinkers entirely, disregarding what the Swarajists are doing and what they are not doing only looking ahead at the goal which must be to make by the aid of his Chief's term of office the boycott of foreign cloth very nearly, if not entirely, complete. It will not be for him to tarry any longer by the road-side, waiting for fellow-workers, unwilling to continue the journey or wasting his time in idle reproaches. He must be a fanatic for whom at least there is no limited liability; and without permitting the least partnership or malice to cross his path, he must co-operate with all other fanatics equally charkha-mad to assist Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress in the execution of the national programme outlined at Belgaum. No one could then have any quarrel with a society of "fanatics unlimited" such as we have suggested, and yet it would be the spear-head of the Congress for pushing through with its main purpose. Little indication in the Mahatma's address of such madness as we desire produces but the right restraint he has exercised over himself. In the language of his address, to which we have already alluded and the character of the agreement into which he entered at Calcutta there is sufficient indication, to us and to many others who know him, of the fires that are melting the lava under the crust of the rigid and cool earth. If there was any doubt on the subject, it must have been cleared the other day when the Mahatma gave ample opportunity to all sceptics among No-changers to express and to resolve their doubts and ended up with warning those, who pledged themselves to work his Charkha programme, that he was a relentless and inexorable leader who could spare no pity for those who would, while on the march, fall out of the ranks, footsore and weary and disinclined to proceed any further.

We ask our readers to consider carefully what it is that the Mahatma is proposing. He is that rare being, a visionary, who is at the same time a thoroughly practical person, the most large-hearted man in the world today and one who is also among the top-most men of the world in intellectual greatness. He deliberately

tells three-hundred and twenty millions of his countrymen that their one chance of freedom is the fullest possible use of the Charkha by all classes of Indians; and the highest political body in the country has deliberately and with eyes open imposed upon him the burden of leading it at this critical juncture. Can any sane man think anything else but that those, who have imposed this burden upon him, mean to offer him their fullest and most steadfast support? He frankly tells everyone that if the charkha does not appeal to his head as well as to his heart, he will be wanting in his duty in not rejecting his lead. He tells his people that they would be justified in regarding him as a hindrance to national progress if they consider him to be wrong in his exposition of the doctrine underlying the spinning wheel. What, we ask, must the world think of people that do not reject his lead after this but act as if they accepted it and yet fail to be infected with his own madness and to attempt to infect others therewith? Are a nation of slaves, as we have proved ourselves, to be a nation of cowards? This only is required to prove us to be a nation of humbugs as well. This is the implication of the Mahatma's presidential address which we have characterised as a challenge to our patriotism and to our love of freedom.

V. HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

The only item of the original programme of Non-Cooperation that Mahatma Gandhi proposes to retain is, as we have seen, the boycott of foreign cloth for which the universalisation of the charkha is the only means. But he cannot give battle to the enemy even in his own peaceful fashion if the national army is not itself united. What general would lead an army the soldiers of which were making targets of each other. Mahatma Gandhi is perfectly by right when he says that some Hindus and some Musalmans prefer the present condition of dependence on Great Britain if they cannot have either wholly Hindu or wholly Musalman India. We claim to know enough of Islam to be able to say that it does not require a Muslim to impose the rule of a Muslim sovereign upon non-Muslim subjects and it does not require him to subvert the rule of a non-Muslim sovereign over Muslim subjects so long as he is free to follow the commandments of his God. Islam is a theocracy and in the language of the Quran "there is no government but God's" and "Him alone are we commanded to serve." As in every religion, there are in Islam certain things which every Musalman is required to do and certain things which he is required not to do. Between these duties and prohibitions lies a vast stretch of ground in which he is free to roam about except for certain things which are in the nature of preferences. Now a Musalman can obey no creature of God who commands him to neglect these duties or to disregard one of these prohibitions, and it makes no difference whether that person is one of his own parents or his master or ruler, whether he is an enemy or a friend or whether he is a Muslim or a non-Muslim. So long as the temporal power of Islam is adequate for the defence of a Musalman's religious liberty and is always at the disposal of the Khalifa, it matters little whether a Muslim is a subject of a Muslim or of a non-Muslim. All he needs is the fullest freedom to obey none but God in the matter of his religious duties and prohibitions. Even if a Muslim sovereign, nay, even if the Khalifa himself commanded him to disobey God, he must refuse; and it is obvious that he could not render unto a non-Muslim Caesar what he could not render unto a Muslim Caesar, because it was due only to God. This being so, we cannot understand why their need be any question of a Muslim's unflinching loyalty to a Swaraj Government that guaranteed *swadharma*. It is only when in the name of Swaraj any obligations are sought to be imposed upon a Muslim, which he cannot fulfil without disregarding the obligations imposed upon him by God's government, that he must refuse and rebel. But the same refusal and rebellion would become a religious obligation if it was not a Swaraj Government in India, but the Government of the Great Mughal re-established in Delhi or that of the Khalifa himself as it used to be in Turkey before the deposition of

Mohamed Waheeduddin that sought to impose upon him such obligations. God's government is not necessarily incompatible with Hindu or Christian sovereignty; and yet it may be incompatible with the rule of a Muslim who demands obedience to the commands of a creature of God in preference to the commandments of the Creator Himself. With this important reservation a Muslim can be loyal to any Government, be the ruler Muslim or non-Muslim. But if there is any meaning in religion, this reservation is common to all religions. It makes all the difference in the world which you place first, God or Man. Those who call upon Musalmans to relegate God to a secondary position ask him to surrender his faith and to this no Musalman can consent. But to such a surrender no Hindu or Sikh or Parsi or Christian or Jew should consent either, and since we are prepared to guarantee *swadharma* to them all, what wonder is there at all if we desire a similar guarantee of *swadharma* for a Muslim? And yet curiously enough it is just those, who would restrict the rights of a Muslim citizen out of deference to non-Muslim sentiments however out of the common, that demand from him a loyalty to the Government they would establish in disregard of the prior loyalty that he owes to his Maker. It is because Mahatma Gandhi makes no such demands from Muslim or Hindu fanatics or atheists but desires all to regard their conscience as their king, that Musalmans accept and can accept his lead in preference to that of the so-called free-thinkers as well as that of the orthodox of other faiths. The place of a Musalman who wants an India subject wholly to the rule of Musalmans is not India. But India is not more the place of a Hindu who wants an India subject wholly to the rule of Hindus. We wish we could believe with Mahatma Gandhi that happily the number of such as want this is few. But few or many, we must all combine to defeat their fanaticism and to make India safe for *swadharma* and Swaraj.

Having made the requisite reservation in favour of religion, we can now with an easy conscience condemn those who take the name of religion in vain and are actuated by material motives which have nothing to do with religion. We are glad to find Mahatma Gandhi agreeing with us in stating that it is interested persons, who were disappointed during the palmy days of Non Cooperation, that have found their opportunity now and are trading upon the religious bigotry or the selfishness of both the communities. He agrees with our own etiology of the disease of disunion and of the dissensions in which that disunion has resulted, and clearly states that the result of the activities of such interested persons is written in the history of the feuds of the past two years. The greatest sufferer from all this is, however, religion itself. As Mahatma Gandhi says, "religion has been travestied. Trifles have been dignified by the name of religious tenets which the fanatics claim must be observed at any cost." But we think it is only a slip of the pen when Mahatmaj writes that economic and political causes have been brought into play for the sake of fomenting trouble. In all probability the Mahatma also thinks, as we do, that genuine economic and political grievances existed and that those who complained or those against whom complaints were made alike fomented trouble in the name of religion or at least became ardent champions of hostile communal groups. They did nothing to check and control the religious passions and prejudices of those quarrelling groups even if they did not originally rouse them, but on the contrary they did much to increase them and to aggravate the situation. The Unity Conference at Delhi has, as Mahatma Gandhi says, paved the way for a settlement of religious differences, and let us hope with him that the Committee of the All-Parties' Conference will find a workable and a just solution of the existing political differences. Also we echo the words of the Mahatma that "our goal must be removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services must be likewise manned by the most qualified men and women." But while Mahatma Gandhi is not indifferent to the prospects of the future, practical man that he is, he does not neglect the needs of the present either. He rightly concludes this section of his address by saying

that "till that time comes and communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way." He calls upon majorities to set the example of self-sacrifice. For our part we shall be content if they only set the example of bare justice. Let no one, however, think that we despair of this or even that we regard the prospect as distant. The petty-mindedness of majorities and minorities alike is the result of the scarcity that is universal today when only crumbs fall to our lot. We quarrel in our hunger over their distribution; but when from being beggars outside the palace gates, we become honoured partakers of the good things served on the festive board within, there will, we feel sure, be an end of this undignified scramble. Let neither Hindu nor Muslim judge the Swaraj that is to come by these present indications which are the fruits not of Swaraj, but of slavery. The difficulty, however, is that Swaraj cannot come unless these indications disappear.

[We shall comment in our next issue on the latter part of the Mahatma's address and shall first deal with the curse of untouchability which has eaten into the vitals of the Hindu community and has always proved a set back in the process of the democratisation of our nation. Ed. Comrade.]



Verse.

A COQUETTE

As you love me today
Will you love me tomorrow?
Roses blossom in May
As you love me today;
Though good things decay
And joys end in snow,
As you love me today
Will you love me tomorrow?

You are queen of my heart
Summer time in September;
None may keep us apart;
You are queen of my heart;
Days may come and depart
You are mine please remember.
You are queen of my heart
Summer time in September.

You snare men with smiles,
You gull them with glances;
You have ways, you have wiles,
You snare men with smiles
With many-tangled smiles,
With your lies and romances.
You snare men with smiles,
You gull them with glances.

Need I take it to heart
That you change with the seasons?
You are perfect in art,
Need I take it to heart,
From finish to start
If you deal in deft treason?
Need I take it to heart
That you change with the reasons?

Our London Letter.

[From our own Correspondent.]

London, 4th December, 1924.

Readers of the "Comrade" must have known by now how the gods of Imperialism and High Finance have been sought to be propitiated in Egypt. It is, however, interesting, to see the reaction of British action on foreign countries as well as England.

Every country, which does count in international affairs, has had its say. But public opinion of the world is utterly incapable of appreciating the reasonableness of British action and no wonder, therefore, that it criticises and criticises sharply. Serajevo and Corfu have been freely recalled and that huge paradox known as the League of Nations has also been sympathetically recommended for the purpose of arbitration.

Italy does justify British action, but these Italians seem to have a brutal sense of humour. Where was the necessity of introducing the Corfu affair? The French view was well pronounced at first, but mature considerations led to the weakening of the tone for the negative reason that "quarrelling with England would do no good." The positive reason follows later. Belgium and Turkey deprecated attempts to raise the question in their chambers, but not before M. Hymans had admitted the international character of the question and Fethi Bey had declared his sympathy with Egyptian aspirations. America questions British arguments against interference by the League. The fact of England's action being universally condemned is undoubted, but then "quarrelling with England would do no good."

These opinions, however, have provoked some plain-speaking by the Tories. The speeches of Messrs. Amery and Neville Chamberlain delivered last week have, I am sure, been cabled to India. According to Mr. Chamberlain, if any nation presumes to think that Britain does not mean what she says, then there might be war. The logic is too subtle for my brain. But by far the best argument in favour of blood and iron is Mr. Garvin's and it really clinches the matter. He solemnly informs all concerned that "the League of Nations in its present incomplete form depends absolutely on *entente cordiale*. The *entente cordiale* depends absolutely upon the Agreement of 1904, by which France at last solemnly accepted our position in Egypt in return for our recognition of her claim in Morocco. From the direct and indirect consequences of that document, the French have derived a hundred times more advantage than they dreamed. Their support of our place in Egypt, instead of propaganda against us, was our fair share of the Agreement—a share indispensable then and indispensable now."

Liberals here consider the action to be drastic and measures uncalled for. One paper has actually characterised the Gezira Irrigation clause as mean and petty. The *Manchester Guardian* says that Britain has lost its credit in the eyes of the world by exploitation or murder for political profit and bullying a powerless nation. The only way to redeem that credit is by submitting to the League of Nations.

Labour, except for its leader, has been fairly outspoken. The manifesto of the Independent Labour Party considers the demands as humiliating to Britain, the occupation of Egypt not more justifiable than the military occupation of Belgium. It deplores the appropriation of Nile water and demands that the question of the control of the Sudan be submitted to the League of Nations. But by far the strongest denunciation comes from the pen of Mr. H. M. Brailsford. Writing in the *New Leader*, he cites the parallels of Serajevo, Corfu and the murder of the two German missionaries in China in 1897, in each of which cases the retaliatory measures were, as he says, not at all as drastic as those taken in Egypt. He describes the clause relating to the Gezira Irrigation as designed to bring unlimited dividends to British Cotton Concern and pointedly asks "was there ever a more profitable murder?"

The National Council for Prevention of War held a meeting the other day in Essex Hall. It was addressed by prominent Labour leaders and two radical Liberals, Cap. Wedgwood-Ben, and Commander Kenworthy. The meeting demanded settlement by arbitration.

But when all this has been said, the fact remains that not much should be expected from the sympathy shown to Egypt. Foreign government will interfere because "quarrelling with England would do no good." The Opposition in England has relieved its conscience by having been fairly vocal. There is a certain thing known as *fait accompli* and it has great potential virtues. A section of sympathisers expect some good from discussions in the Commons. But they forget that Mr. Lloyd George will lead the Liberal group, and that Mr. MacDonald has so far been nothing, if not vague. He delivered a speech on Egypt which was in effect: "I do not want to embarrass Government, I am not quite sure if the measures are not drastic. But 'my friends'! Labour would have done better. These Tories do not know how to handle matters."

As for Egypt itself, your readers know how Ziwar came in. He gave notice that he would carry on administration in spite of the Opposition and he has proved as good as his word. He has accepted all the terms of the British Government and, helped by the military demonstrations of British troops, he is attempting to stifle Egyptian protests.

The following cable from Zaghlul Pasha to Mr. Spoor is itself eloquent.

"Many thanks for cable. It seems that the British Government was determined, even before Sir Lee Stack's murder, to get rid of my Government, which has been constitutional in every sense of the word, backed by Parliament representing the nation and which allowed of no outside interference in the country's internal affairs. The overthrow of my Ministry is interpreted as the overthrow of the constitutional *regime*, and the return to the old *regime* of creating Ministers supported by the Residency. The first results of the newly adopted policy are the adjournment of Parliament one month pending, probably, its dissolution, and the arrest of several members of Parliament and others without any definite charge. The arrests were at first conducted by British armed troops violating the sanctity of the victims' houses at dawn, trampling under foot a constitution which provided immunity against arrest for members of Parliament. I am particularly happy to tell you the country is exceedingly quiet after my repeated appeals to remain so and despite military and police provocations. Egypt is now virtually governed by martial law lacking only the name. The old policy of persecution now reigns. Feeling of bitterness and suppressed indignation is general. News from England indicating Imperialists' dread of arbitration is significant and increases that feeling. The people are by no means dismayed, all believing in eternal justice."

Since then the members of the Egyptian Chamber have submitted a petition to the King in the course of which they say: "the country is traversing a critical phase in its existence. The usurper has come down upon it with all his brutal force hoping to regularise his situation and drag from it consent to his usurpation. But the country, affirming its will to live freely and independently under the shelter of your happy reign, will accept nothing but independence."

In the meantime Mr. Austin Chamberlain has gone to Paris and Rome. He will condescend to give information about Egypt, if any member of the Council of the League of Nations is

irreflexibly inquisitive, and Mr. Chamberlain calls upon the world to admire him and his Government for the great regard proposed to be shown to the League.

But there are incorrigible sceptics who would, out of sheer malice, try to interpret his visit in quite a different way. The position of Spain in Morocco has become untenable and the "orderly withdrawal" continues with great loss. France sees the danger of Riff independence to the Sultan of Morocco, that is to say, to its own "zone of influence." It wants Spanish Morocco to be transferred to France in return for Tangier. Then, Italy wants rectification of the Tripoli frontiers. Britain desires a free hand in Egypt and some one other than M. Franklin Bouillon as French Ambassador in Angora. This society of mutual admiration for the 'civilizing work' of one another is meeting for the purpose of allowing every one free scope for the selfless task of civilizing North Africa.

This laudable work, however, has been courageously undertaken by Great Britain on an extensive scale which covers, happily for her, India also. Those good people, whose conscience always smites them when the helpless millions of India are in danger of falling into the hands of that selfish and unconscionable class, the Indian politicians, have felt the call again and have awakened to their duties.

General Sir James Willcocks, Sir Denison Ross and Sir Michael O'Dwyer have unburdened their souls in the columns of the *Evening News*. They have appealed to the British Government to do something to rescue the unfortunate Indian agriculturist. But, lest the Indian politician should succeed in making a naughty boy of the average Indian, Sir Denison Ross considers it wise to give notice that "no nation likes even to contemplate giving up what it holds and no reasonable Indian can imagine that Englishmen are in a hurry to hand over their sovereign rights in India in response to Nationalist appeals without considering all that this involves for the wealth and enterprise of Englishmen." Sir M. O'Dwyer's plaintive wails are familiar to your readers. Dyrarchy has failed. Indian politicians are children and should not be allowed to play with Government. In the interest of the masses the country should be ruled by the Governor and the Civil Service, and this should form the subject of a Royal Commission.

The *Evening News* entirely agrees and wants India to understand, that 'we mean to stay there and we mean to rule.' Not being sure whether the dull Indians would realise what it says, it has italicised the sentence.

Will the Congress at Belgaum take up the challenge?



Mr. MacDonald Protests.

I HAD been reading Mr. Wickham Steed's entertaining interview with the Prime Minister, which the editor of the "Review of Reviews" had kindly allowed me to see in proof, and I was thinking how different it seemed in its complete form from the summaries which had already appeared in the daily papers, especially as, two, at least, of those summaries had attributed to Mr. MacDonald an important remark which was really uttered by his interviewer. I must have fallen asleep, for the next thing of which I have any recollection is that I was ushered into a room in which the Prime Minister sat alone.

"Is it really fair?" he exclaimed in an aggrieved tone, before I could say a word of apology for my intrusion. "I was just feeling rather elated; I had got rid of that tiresome fellow Steed, and was just settling down to a little quiet reflection on the moral fervour of the Labour Party when you come in like a thief in the night and shatter my peace of mind. You may call it Bolshevism or Fascism or what you will, but that is the plain truth."

"Pray let me assure you——," I began, nervously; but Mr. MacDonald would not listen. "I don't object to a man who knocks me down," he went on passionately; "that is straightforward, that is honest, that is gentlemanly; though the police may have something to say to him after he has done it. But to ask questions; to inquire what I mean to do and why I have done it, that is mean and cowardly and sneaking and underhanded. To ask questions is a form of mediæval crookedness and torture. I am not to be knocked down, but to be humiliated, and the important and epoch-making work which I have set out, with no light heart, but with courage and steadfastness and high ideals and moral fervour, and—er—all that sort of thing—to do, is to be interrupted in order that men like you, who haven't anything like my spiritual quality, should be told what I think about this, that, and the other thing."

"But believe me, my dear Prime Minister——," I interjected, but again I was not allowed to proceed.

"Why should I believe you?" inquired Mr. MacDonald sharply. "You are not a member of the Labour Party, are you? You are not even one of the nobility and gentry with whom we can feel some affinity. We do not of course share their privileges, but we can understand them because we share their delicate sense of honour and good manners."

"It is extraordinary," he went on pensively, "how membership of the Labour Party changes a man. Look at Pat Hastings. He was probably a pettifogging lawyer before he joined us, and he may even have had an ungentlemanly taint about him, and now see what a noble creature he is! Why, it's a monstrous outrage even to ask him what considerations have influenced him. A man like that may have been influenced by the most irrelevant considerations, and yet they dare to ask us to produce documents and letters and explanations which might even reveal that he hadn't been telling the truth. There is a dishonesty, an obliqueness in the whole business."

"May I explain——" I burst in desperately, at this point, seeing that I was being mistaken for a journalist and that I might find myself in serious difficulties, but still I was not allowed to speak.

"Am I interviewing you, or are you interviewing me?" he demanded, and, without waiting for an answer, he went on fiercely, "That fellow Steed did most of the talking while he was here, and now it's my turn. You want to know my attitude towards the Russian Ticaues, of course. Well, I'll tell you. I dislike the Russians almost as much as they dislike me, I can't say more than that, and I don't want to make any treaties with them, and least of all do I want to lend them money. But what am I to do? Ponsonby and his friends have led me on step by step, until I can't draw back without having half the party in revolt. While I was busy at the London Conference, I had to leave Ponsonby to negotiate with the Russians, and the thing dragged on so long and became so complicated that I don't think anyone, certainly not Ponsonby, understood what was happening. But it would have been ridiculous if those negotiations had fizzled out without any result at all, and the Russians wouldn't do anything without a loan, and the capitalist bankers in the City of London, with the narrow, selfish, covetous views which characterize their class, wouldn't lend them money without security, so I was obliged to give way. That is the simple unvarnished truth about the whole transaction. But what I do most bitterly and cruelly resent is that anyone else should criticize these treaties when I have agreed to them. Surely if I, with any moral fervour and high ideals, can bring myself, however reluctantly and with whatever misgivings, to contemplate the idea of guaranteeing a loan to Russia, it does not become mere bankers and politicians and lawyers to raise objections? What, let me ask, do these people conceive to be the function of the House of Commons if it is not to register the decisions of a Labour Government? I will tell you. In their miserable, petty, spiteful minds, the function of Parliament is partizanship, is chicanery, is the hampering and embarrassment of the Government in the execution of that high

purpose to which we have put our hands and from which we will not be deflected unless by deflection we see a chance of improving our position at the polls. And mind this, if by the abuse of Parliamentary votes the Labour Government is defeated and there is a General Election, the responsibility will not be ours. It is always open to the House of Commons to vote with us, however objectionable our proceedings and our proposals may seem to be. But if there be a General Election, it will not, if I can help it, be fought out on the Russian Treaties or even on the conduct of the Attorney-General, or on any other clearly defined issue I have already done my best, not without some measure of success, to obscure the issue, and please god, I will go on to obscure it still further. If strength and opportunity are vouchsafed to me, I will do what in me lies to see to it that the Irish Boundary question and the European situation and the question whether Communists should be prosecuted are brought in to serve the cause of Labour, and that the votes of teeming, suffering millions who toil in the workshops and factories of this great country are given on grounds which have not the remotest connection with the differences which now divide the parties in the House of Commons."

At this point in the Prime Minister's discourse my attention wandered, I am ashamed to say, and I woke up. Of course it was all a dream. Prime Ministers do not talk like that in the waking world, and if the reader wishes to know how they *do* talk, I can only advise him to read the forthcoming issue of the "Review of Reviews."

PETER IBBETSON
in the "Nation."



Anecdote.

An unpopular man wished to join a fashionable club. At the first attempt he was "blackballed," but on trying again he was elected. In great jubilation he walked into the club and went up into the card room, where he met a member who growled, "What are you doing here?" "I've just been elected," retorted the other. "Good heavens!" said the member. "Elected? Well, I'll give you five hundred pounds to resign."

The other glared at him and left the room. On the way downstairs he met Lord Marcus Beresford. "Hullo!" said Beresford. "You look annoyed."

"So-and-so has just offered me five hundred to resign," spluttered the insulted one.

"Did he?" said Lord Marcus. "Well, sit tight and I dare say he'll make it a thousand."

There is a story concerning a company touring with a play in which Napoleon was the leading character. One of the lines in the play was: "Sire, it has been decided that you are to be banished to St. Helena."

Well, the company reached Wigan and business was very bad. On the third night things were worse than ever, and to add to their troubles the actor who had to speak the lines quoted was suffering from too much liquid refreshment. He staggered on to the stage and remarked: "Sire, it has been decided to banish you to St. Helena." "Well," said Napoleon, "thank Heaven it isn't Wigan."

A story comes from the Hon. Horace Woodhouse, brother-in-law of Lady Terrington, M. P. During the war he was at the Ministry of Food, in charge of the department controlling bacon and dried fruits. Two of his assistants were women of very uncertain age. One day a dealer came in and asked them, "Are you Bacon and Lard?" "No," replied the elder; "we're dried fruits."

A famous Irish barrister was once driving in a carriage with the Lord Chief Justice, in the days when criminals were hanged at cross-roads. The carriage came to a spot where there were several of these grisly sights. The Lord Chief Justice nudged his companion and said, pointing to the criminals, "If we all got what we deserved, where would you be?"

"Alone in the carriage," was the prompt reply.

"The Council."

By The Hon. Mr. GUP.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—As You Like It.

A large number of old subscribers of *The Comrade* have pressed us to reprint the humorous descriptions of Council Debates from its *Gup* columns. This they desire partly in order to revive old memories themselves and partly to introduce "the Hon. Mr. Gup" to the new generation which, although it is not unacquainted with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sir Trevelyan Wynne, and Sir Gangadhar Chitambar, and had known the late Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, certainly did not know them as "The Bombay Duck," "Bootlair Saheb," "Suren," "Cheery Chitambar," "the Mild Hindu" and "Bhupen Babu" whose Council activities were chronicled in *The Comrade* perhaps with greater truth than accuracy. If a large enough number of intending purchasers send in names for registration and book their orders, we shall gladly reprint this lively chronicle and re-present the figures of those that had played their part on the Council stage from ten to fifteen years ago from the 'Eiffel-towering personality' of the Hon. Mr. Long fellow to a tiny predecessor of Lord Lytton "looking every inch a Lieutenant-Governor."

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1013/-, 1014/-, 1015/-, 1016/-, 1017/-, 1018/-, 1019/-, 1020/-, 1021/-, 1022/-, 1023/-, 1024/-, 1025/-, 1026/-, 1027/-, 1028/-, 1029/-, 1030/-, 1031/-, 1032/-, 1033/-, 1034/-, 1035/-, 1036/-, 1037/-, 1038/-, 1039/-, 1040/-, 1041/-, 1042/-, 1043/-, 1044/-, 1045/-, 1046/-, 1047/-, 1048/-, 1049/-, 1050/-, 1051/-, 1052/-, 1053/-, 1054/-, 1055/-, 1056/-, 1057/-, 1058/-, 1059/-, 1060/-, 1061/-, 1062/-, 1063/-, 1064/-, 1065/-, 1066/-, 1067/-, 1068/-, 1069/-, 1070/-, 1071/-, 1072/-, 1073/-, 1074/-, 1075/-, 1076/-, 1077/-, 1078/-, 1079/-, 1080/-, 1081/-, 1082/-, 1083/-, 1084/-, 1085/-, 1086/-, 1087/-, 1088/-, 1089/-, 1090/-, 1091/-, 1092/-, 1093/-, 1094/-, 1095/-, 1096/-, 1097/-, 1098/-, 1099/-, 1100/-, 1101/-, 1102/-, 1103/-, 1104/-, 1105/-, 1106/-, 1107/-, 1108/-, 1109/-, 1110/-, 1111/-, 1112/-, 1113/-, 1114/-, 1115/-, 1116/-, 1117/-, 1118/-, 1119/-, 1120/-, 1121/-, 1122/-, 1123/-, 1124/-, 1125/-, 1126/-, 1127/-, 1128/-, 1129/-, 1130/-, 1131/-, 1132/-, 1133/-, 1134/-, 1135/-, 1136/-, 1137/-, 1138/-, 1139/-, 1140/-, 1141/-, 1142/-, 1143/-, 1144/-, 1145/-, 1146/-, 1147/-, 1148/-, 1149/-, 1150/-, 1151/-, 1152/-, 1153/-, 1154/-, 1155/-, 1156/-, 1157/-, 1158/-, 1159/-, 1160/-, 1161/-, 1162/-, 1163/-, 1164/-, 1165/-, 1166/-, 1167/-, 1168/-, 1169/-, 1170/-, 1171/-, 1172/-, 1173/-, 1174/-, 1175/-, 1176/-, 1177/-, 1178/-, 1179/-, 1180/-, 1181/-, 1182/-, 1183/-, 1184/-, 1185/-, 1186/-, 1187/-, 1188/-, 1189/-, 1190/-, 1191/-, 1192/-, 1193/-, 1194/-, 1195/-, 1196/-, 1197/-, 1198/-, 1199/-, 1200/-, 1201/-, 1202/-, 1203/-, 1204/-, 1205/-, 1206/-, 1207/-, 1208/-, 1209/-, 1210/-, 1211/-, 1212/-, 1213/-, 1214/-, 1215/-, 1216/-, 1217/-, 1218/-, 1219/-, 1220/-, 1221/-, 1222/-, 1223/-, 1224/-, 1225/-, 1226/-, 1227/-, 1228/-, 1229/-, 1230/-, 1231/-, 1232/-, 1233/-, 1234/-, 1235/-, 1236/-, 1237/-, 1238/-, 1239/-, 1240/-, 1241/-, 1242/-, 1243/-, 1244/-, 1245/-, 1246/-, 1247/-, 1248/-, 1249/-, 1250/-, 1251/-, 1252/-, 1253/-, 1254/-, 1255/-, 1256/-, 1257/-, 1258/-, 1259/-, 1260/-, 1261/-, 1262/-, 1263/-, 1264/-, 1265/-, 1266/-, 1267/-, 1268/-, 1269/-, 1270/-, 1271/-, 1272/-, 1273/-, 1274/-, 1275/-, 1276/-, 1277/-, 1278/-, 1279/-, 1280/-, 1281/-, 1282/-, 1283/-, 1284/-, 1285/-, 1286/-, 1287/-, 1288/-, 1289/-, 1290/-, 1291/-, 1292/-, 1293/-, 1294/-, 1295/-, 1296/-, 1297/-, 1298/-, 1299/-, 1300/-, 1301/-, 1302/-, 1303/-, 1304/-, 1305/-, 1306/-, 1307/-, 1308/-, 1309/-, 1310/-, 1311/-, 1312/-, 1313/-, 1314/-, 1315/-, 1316/-, 1317/-, 1318/-, 1319/-, 1320/-, 1321/-, 1322/-, 1323/-, 1324/-, 1325/-, 1326/-, 1327/-, 1328/-, 1329/-, 1330/-, 1331/-, 1332/-, 1333/-, 1334/-, 1335/-, 1336/-, 1337/-, 1338/-, 1339/-, 1340/-, 1341/-, 1342/-, 1343/-, 1344/-, 1345/-, 1346/-, 1347/-, 1348/-, 1349/-, 1350/-, 1351/-, 1352/-, 1353/-, 1354/-, 1355/-, 1356/-, 1357/-, 1358/-, 1359/-, 1360/-, 1361/-, 1362/-, 1363/-, 1364/-, 1365/-, 1366/-, 1367/-, 1368/-, 1369/-, 1370/-, 1371/-, 1372/-, 1373/-, 1374/-, 1375/-, 1376/-, 1377/-, 1378/-, 1379/-, 1380/-, 1381/-, 1382/-, 1383/-, 1384/-, 1385/-, 1386/-, 1387/-, 1388/-, 1389/-, 1390/-, 1391/-, 1392/-, 1393/-, 1394/-, 1395/-, 1396/-, 1397/-, 1398/-, 1399/-, 1400/-, 1401/-, 1402/-, 1403/-, 1404/-, 1405/-, 1406/-, 1407/-, 1408/-, 1409/-, 1410/-, 1411/-, 1412/-, 1413/-, 1414/-, 1415/-, 1416/-, 1417/-, 1418/-, 1419/-, 1420/-, 1421/-, 1422/-, 1423/-, 1424/-, 1425/-, 1426/-, 1427/-, 1428/-, 1429/-, 1430/-, 1431/-, 1432/-, 1433/-, 1434/-, 1435/-, 1436/-, 1437/-, 1438/-, 1439/-, 1440/-, 1441/-, 1442/-, 1443/-, 1444/-, 1445/-, 1446/-, 1447/-, 1448/-, 1449/-, 1450/-, 1451/-, 1452/-, 1453/-, 1454/-, 1455/-, 1456/-, 1457/-, 1458/-, 1459/-, 1460/-, 1461/-, 1462/-, 1463/-, 1464/-, 1465/-, 1466/-, 1467/-, 1468/-, 1469/-, 1470/-, 1471/-, 1472/-, 1473/-, 1474/-, 1475/-, 1476/-, 1477/-, 1478/-, 1479/-, 1480/-, 1481/-, 1482/-, 1483/-, 1484/-, 1485/-, 1486/-, 1487/-, 1488/-, 1489/-, 1490/-, 1491/-, 1492/-, 1493/-, 1494/-, 1495/-, 1496/-, 1497/-, 1498/-, 1499/-, 1500/-, 1501/-, 1502/-, 1503/-, 1504/-, 1505/-, 1506/-, 1507/-, 1508/-, 1509/-, 1510/-, 1511/-, 1512/-, 1513/-, 1514/-, 1515/-, 1516/-, 1517/-, 1518/-, 1519/-, 1520/-, 1521/-, 1522/-, 1523/-, 1524/-, 1525/-, 1526/-, 1527/-, 1528/-, 1529/-, 1530/-, 1531/-, 1532/-, 1533/-, 1534/-, 1535/-, 1536/-, 1537/-, 1538/-, 1539/-, 1540/-, 1541/-, 1542/-, 1543/-, 1544/-, 1545/-, 1546/-, 1547/-, 1548/-, 1549/-, 1550/-, 1551/-, 1552/-, 1553/-, 1554/-, 1555/-, 1556/-, 1557/-, 1558/-, 1559/-, 1560/-, 1561/-, 1562/-, 1563/-, 1564/-, 1565/-, 1566/-, 1567/-, 1568/-, 1569/-, 1570/-,

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	+	+	+						
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24	+	+	+						
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36	+	+	+						
	+	+	+						
	+	+	+						
48	+	+	+						
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	+	+	+						
60	+	+	+						
	+	+	+						
	+	+	+						
72	+	+	+						

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For Subs.

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